

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

U.S. bombers fail to stop Cambodia rebels



Cambodian village destroyed by U.S. bombing. As Lon Nol troops retreat, Peking and Moscow pressure rebels to compromise with Phnompenh dictatorship. See pages 8,9 and 10.

500 French notables hit ban on Communist League/5

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Farm workers strike scores a victory
- 4 Protests condemn ban on French Trotskyists
- 6 Kennedy hearings probe forced sterilization
- 7 What caused plunge of dollar?
- 13 Puerto Ricans protest U.S. 'superport'
- 14 Watergate: 'dirty tricks'
- 15 Mitchell testifies at W'gate hearings
- 16 Why Badillo was no alternative
- 17 Calif. ballot laws challenged
- 18 Teamster pact aids attack on wages
- 24 Puerto Rican strikers defy national guard

- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 La Raza en Accion National Picket Line
- 12 Great Society Women in Revolt By Any Means Necessary
- 19 News From Pathfinder American Way of Life Militant Gets Around
- 20 In Review

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Elections in Northern Ireland
- 2 20,000 march against NATO
- 3 African Liberation Day in Britain
- 4 Workers fight Chilean toothpaste industry

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 28

JULY 20, 1973

CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 11, 1973

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office: (212) 243-6392; Business Office: (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Telephone: (213) 463-1917.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: Domestic: \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Mexico and the Caribbean, \$30; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, and Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly: England and Ireland, £1.20 for 10 issues, £4.50 for one year; Continental Europe, £1.50 for 10 issues, £5.50 for one year. Send banker's draft directly to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

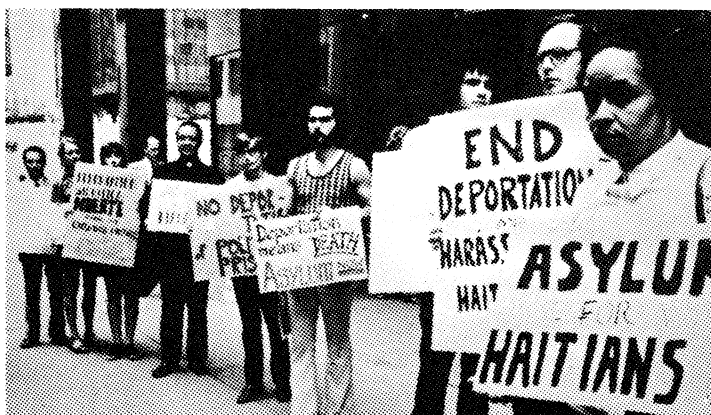
PRISONER SCORES CIVIL RIGHTS VICTORY: Australia Johnson, a prisoner at the Manhattan House of Detention (the Tombs), has set an important precedent by winning the right to sue a guard who assaulted him. The United States Court of Appeals for the Second District ruled that Johnson has the right to sue the guard for damages.

In announcing its decision, the court acknowledged that "upholding this complaint may well lead to considerable further expansion of actions by state prisoners" to defend their civil rights.

PICKETS DEMAND ASYLUM FOR HAITIANS: More than 40 demonstrators picketed the U.S. Department of Immigration and Naturalization in New York City July 5. Among the slogans they chanted were "Asylum for Cubans, why not Haitians?" and "Grant asylum, deportation means death!"

One hundred and seventeen Haitian exiles currently face deportation to Haiti. Twelve are escaped political prisoners. One of them, Gerard Latortue, who was present at the demonstration, explained that the 12 will be jailed and face possible death sentences if they are sent back to Haiti.

The action was sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Rights



Guillermo Rosas

of the Haitian People, Coalition of Latin Americans and Friends of Latin America, El Comite, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

USLA has called a rally in New York July 28 to protest the deportations. Among the speakers at the action will be Bert Corona, a leader of the Los-Angeles-based anti-deportation organization CASA-Hermandad. For more information on the demonstration, contact USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

POSTAL WORKERS OPPOSE NEW CONTRACT: Some 1,000 cheering, chanting postal workers demonstrated July 6 in front of the General Post Office in New York to protest the new contract approved by the national union leadership. Chants like "What do we want? Day tours!" and "What do we want? A shorter workweek!" expressed the central demands of the crowd.

Other demands include an area wage differential, a new grievance procedure, a better pension plan, and improvements in mail service. A high proportion of the demonstrators were young, and a large number were Black.

The Metropolitan Area Postal Union (formerly the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union) voted to reject the contract at a membership meeting July 2. A mail referendum will take the formal vote.

A major criticism of the contract concerns the transfer of many workers from day to night shifts, and Post Office plans to move a large part of its operations to New Jersey. The move will mean that white workers from New Jersey will replace many Black and Puerto Rican postal employees.

If you subscribe to The Militant and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address into The Militant business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

DEMONSTRATIONS DEMAND RELEASE OF PORTUGUESE WOMEN: Chanting "Free the three Marias now!" 150 to 200 demonstrators picketed the Portuguese consulate in New York July 3 in defense of three women whose trial began that same day in Portugal.

Maria Teresa Horta, Maria Velho da Cost, and Maria Isabel Barreno are on trial and face possible six-year sentences for writing a book describing women's oppression in Portugal. The book, *New Portuguese Letters*, has

been confiscated by the political police.

Groups participating in the New York action included the National Organization for Women (the main organizer of the action), Lesbian Feminists Liberation, and The Feminists. Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, joined the picket line. A demonstration was also held at the Portuguese consulate in Houston and in several other cities.

Dorothy Healey resigns from Communist Party

LOS ANGELES—Dorothy Healey, a long-time prominent leader of the Communist Party, announced her resignation from the party July 9. She made the statement on her weekly KPFK-FM radio program in Los Angeles.

Healey gave several reasons for resigning. One was the decision of the CP Central Committee to denounce Al Richmond's book *A Long View From the Left* and to require all party spokespeople to advocate the view that Richmond's book is a "tool in the hands of the class enemy."

Richmond is also a long-time CP leader. His book criticizes CP positions, particularly the CP's support for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Healey said she was quitting the party because of its general lack of internal democracy and because of its stand on Czechoslovakia. She announced that she will discuss these matters further at a meeting at the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles July 15. Next week's *Militant* will contain more information on this development.

ON THE NATURE OF THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST PARTY: The July-August issue of the *International Socialist Review* features an important contribution on a subject of controversy among socialist and antiwar activists throughout the world. "On the Nature of the Vietnamese Communist Party" is a thorough critique of a recent book (*Le parti communiste vietnamien*) by Pierre Rousset, a French Trotskyist. At issue is whether the Vietnamese CP is fundamentally a Stalinist party, and whether revolutionaries should look to its leaders for political guidance.

The same issue of the *ISR* also includes two important documents from the recent convention of the Canadian Trotskyist movement, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere. The first document examines another issue of current controversy in radical politics: the question of Canadian nationalism. Should Canadians consider "anti-imperialism" to be identical to "anti-U.S.-imperialism," or is Canada itself an imperialist country?

The second LSA/LSO document describes the growing movement of the Quebecois for an independent and socialist Quebec.

This special double issue of the *ISR* can be obtained by sending \$1 to: *ISR*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y., 10014.

—MIRTA VIDAL

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



The growing crisis in Chile, the massive general strike in Uruguay, the meaning of the detente—these and many more international developments are reported and analyzed in *The Militant*.

Introductory offer-\$1/3months

- () \$1 for three months of *The Militant*.
- () \$2 for three months of *The Militant* and three months of the *International Socialist Review*.
- () \$5 for one year of *The Militant*
- () New () Renewal

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

UFW scores victory as Teamster goons withdraw from grape areas

By ANDREA BARON

COACHELLA, Calif., July 7—The striking United Farm Workers Union scored a victory this week with the withdrawal of the Teamster-hired goons from all agricultural areas being picketed by the UFW.

The brutal strikebreaking activities of the Teamster goons in the Coachella Valley, the Arvin-Lamont area, and the Salinas Valley had brought wide public protest. These \$50-a-day-plus-expenses thugs had been charged with everything from disturbing the peace to attempted murder.

This week was the first time since the grape strike began April 15 that there were no violent incidents here. The absence of Teamster goons is clearly the reason why.

UFW leader César Chávez called the goon withdrawal "the failure of a Teamster strategy to discredit us by luring us into violence."

There has been speculation here that the pullout of the Teamster goons could be related to the secret negotiating sessions recently held between Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons and AFL-CIO President George Meany. UFW officials here confirmed that these meetings have taken place but had no further information on them.

The strike in Coachella continues with picket lines in front of the major scab ranches every morning. More workers are walking off the fields and joining the strike every day.

The atmosphere on the picket lines has been less tense since the goons were pulled out, and the withdrawal

of the goons has further raised the morale of the strikers.

In past weeks the picket lines have been marked by constant harassment and insults hurled at picketers by the goon squads. At times as many as 75 of the thugs would gather to attempt to intimidate the strikers.

The goons in strike areas had numbered from 50 to 350 men, at a reported cost to the Teamsters at up to \$110,000 per week.

Reverend John Bank, UFW director of information, stressed the role of the Teamster officialdom in planning the campaign of violence against the farm workers. "Testimony by the Teamsters themselves has indicated that this has not been isolated actions, but a methodical plan of violence directed by those in the highest positions of authority within the Teamsters."

The testimony referred to is a statement made by Ray Griego, a former Teamster staffer in Coachella who was recently fired. Griego had been hired by Teamster area supervisor Ralph Cotner to "help run the *Chavistas* out of town." Griego called Cotner "the man who's responsible for all the violence that's going on out here."

There are now about 1,400 workers directly participating in the strike and 900 more union members who are working on the two ranches that



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Teamster bureaucrats hired goons to 'help run the *Chavistas* out of town.'

have signed UFW contracts. The grape harvest here will be over in three weeks. The focus of the strike will then move north with the grape crop to the Arvin-Lamont area.

More than 600 strikers are already on the picket lines at Arvin. The growers there have signed "sweetheart" contracts with the Teamster bureaucrats rather than renew their agreements with the UFW.

Continued on page 22

'Raisins yes, grapes no!'

By JOSE G. PEREZ

COACHELLA, Calif., July 9—The United Farm Workers' chant, "Raisins Yes, Grapes No!" is becoming a reality as plummeting grape prices make it more and more unprofitable to be a scab grape grower here.

Reverend John Bank, the union's director of information, said today that prices for Coachella grapes are continuing to drop, with most grapes selling for less than cost.

The perlette variety of grapes, which account for the bulk of the first half of the harvest here, are selling for about \$5 a 22-pound box. The growers estimate their break-even point is \$7.50 a box.

Because of the very low price of perlettes, some growers aren't even bothering to harvest what's left of the crop. At the Moreno ranch, one of the biggest in this valley, a whole field has not been picked. Another grower has let an estimated 440,000 pounds of perlette grapes go unpicked.

These grape growers had hoped to recoup some of the losses from the perlette crop when the Thompson seedless variety of grapes began to be harvested. Thompson seedless grapes account for the bulk of the second half of the harvest here. But the first best-quality Thompson grapes, which were shipped out of Coachella a week ago, sold for only \$7.50 to \$8 a box. Prices are already dropping on these grapes, and as the harvest goes into full swing the price is expected to drop even more dramatically.

"It's a lot worse than I figured," one grower said last week. "I knew things wouldn't be good but I didn't think they would be this bad. A lot



Militant/Andrea Baron

Striking farm workers rally in Coachella

of growers are losing their tails this year."

That's generally the way the grape ranchers are assessing the United Farm Workers strike and boycott.

One grower recently told a reporter, "We've never been in a situation like this before. It's going to more than make up for the last two good years we had." Another grower put it more bluntly: "A lot of growers are going to lose a lot of money before the year is over."

The strike has been buttressed by a nationwide boycott of scab grapes that has driven down the price of grapes and helped to expose the in-

Continued on page 22

'Submarines' & '4 little pigs'

COACHELLA, Calif., July 6—Hundreds of members and supporters of the United Farm Workers Union rallied here today in the city park.

Cesar Chavez introduced a number of UFW supporters who had come here to express their solidarity with the strike. Among them were James Herman, president of Local 34 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Bill Tatum, president of United Steelworkers Local 6700; and Chuck Bosari, director of communications for the Ohio AFL-CIO; as well as delegations of boycott organizers from Ohio, Indiana, and California.

Chavez pointed especially to the effectiveness of the tactic of using "submarines." A "submarine" is a striking worker who gets a job at one of the scab ranches in order

to gather information for the union and encourage other workers to walk out.

Growers try to avoid hiring "submarines" in order to minimize the number of workers who walk out. However, Chavez noted, at one ranch "submarines" were having such an effect that the grower fired all the workers.

The rally ended with a play written by Reverend John Bank, the union's director of information in Coachella. The production, called "Four Little Pigs," features in the title roles a grower, a Teamster bureaucrat, a Teamster-hired thug, and a labor contractor, all played by strikers. The play ends with the four squealing pigs being driven out of the Coachella Valley by angered strikers and boycotters.



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Growers are hurting as grape boycott spreads.

Chavez: 'But we have the people'

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—More than 1,000 striking members of the United Farm Workers Union from the Coachella valley traveled here July 7 to join with supporters on Safeway supermarket picket lines. A caravan of more than 200 cars made the 130-mile journey.

Los Angeles boycott coordinator Andy Coe told *The Militant* that 50

Safeway stores were picketed for about four hours. He estimated that the pickets dissuaded several thousand people from shopping at Safeway.

Afterwards, pickets converged on Lincoln Park in the Chicano community for a rally. Estimates of the attendance ran as high as 2,000, the figure reported by the *Los Angeles Times*.

Cesar Chavez told the crowd that

the Farm Workers are going to win the strike. "The Teamsters have the contracts," he said, "but we have the people."

A representative of the Laborers International Union, AFL-CIO, Local 652 in Santa Ana, presented the strikers with a check for \$1,000. A student group from the University of California at Santa Cruz gave \$200.

Especially well received were the remarks of Teamster rank-and-filer Jim Dycus. "I believe in the rights of our sisters and brothers [the farm workers]," he said, "not in the system of the crummy Teamster leadership under the direction of Frank Fitzsimmons and Einar Mohn."

Dycus is a coplaintiff, along with other Teamsters, in a law suit that seeks to prevent the Teamster chiefs from breaking the Farm Workers strike. "There are a lot of beautiful Teamsters," he said to the roar of the audience. "It's just our leadership that stinks."

Plan support action in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—The Farm Workers Support Coalition is sponsoring a mass rally here Saturday, July 28, in support of striking farm workers. The rally has received support and endorsement from organizations and individuals in the Chicano community, as well as from religious groups, unions, and political figures.

Demonstrators will assemble at

10 a.m. at Pershing Square (Sixth and Hill streets) and march to a noon rally at the Old Plaza (Olvera and Main streets). Social Services Union Local 535 has donated the use of its headquarters to the Coalition. For further information, contact Farm Workers Support Coalition, c/o Social Services Union Local 535, 2300 West Seventh St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 663-1763.

U.S. protesters tell French government: 'End the ban on the Communist League!'

JULY 10—Protests in more than 15 U.S. cities in the past week condemned the banning of the Communist League (Ligue Communiste) by the French government. The outlawing of the League, the French section of the Fourth International, occurred June 28, following an antifascist demonstration in Paris that the League helped to organize.

The largest protest in the U.S. took place in New York, where 200 demonstrators chanted "Lift the ban on the Ligue Communiste!" as they marched in a picket line outside the French consulate July 6. Another popular chant was "Free Krivine and Rousset!" Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset, two leaders of the League, have been jailed by the French government.

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, and Katherine Sojourner from the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) presented a statement to the French vice-consul condemning the ban. "He said he knew of Krivine and would forward our statement to the French government," Oliver later reported.

The statement, signed by several prominent individuals, said in part: "This undemocratic action of the French Council of Ministers is a blow against the rights of all radical political organizations in France and around the world. The French government has begun its campaign of repression against the Ligue Communiste because of this organization's participation in the fight against the



Chicago protest Militant/Cassandra Dowden

fascist Ordre Nouveau [New Order] and the flagrant anti-Semitic, racist agitation this group has carried out under the protection of the French government."

More than 150 protesters demonstrated in San Francisco July 7 in support of the League's rights. Two TV stations covered the action, and a statement by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, the U.S. sister organizations of the League, was read in full by two radio stations. News of the San Francisco protest was picked up as far away as San Diego, where the conservative *San Diego Union* ran an article on the demonstration.

One hundred people joined picket lines in both Boston and Chicago, and 75 demonstrated in Seattle.

During the demonstration in Houston, Dan Fein, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, and Gertrude Barnstone, a former member of the Houston school board, submitted a telegram of protest to the French vice-consul.

Signers of the telegram included Ray London, vice-president of Local 107, Postal Workers Union; Dolores Woods, shop president of Local 305-T, United Paperworkers International Union; Jim Ligget, University of Houston student body president; and Barbara Cigainero, Houston organizer of the United Farm Workers Union.

At the demonstration in Minneapolis, a telegram was sent to French Pres-

ident Pompidou. Supporters of the statement included Allan Spear, state senator; Greg Cain and Anne Burns, executive board members, Local 59 of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers; and Charles Williams, president of Local 1164, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Others who have condemned the ban on the League include Ruth Gage-Colby, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom delegate to the United Nations; Bert Corona, head of CASA-Hermandad, a Los Angeles-based antideportation group; Vincent Hallinan, prominent attorney; Florynce Kennedy, head of the Feminist Party; and Ying Lee Kelley, member of the Berkeley, Calif., city council.

Also, Elaine Latarelle, national board member of the National Organization for Women (NOW); Harrisburg Seven defendant Egbal Ahmad; Bishop Alvin Ward, chairman of Cleveland Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); International Socialists; Spartacist League; and Youth Against War and Fascism.

Despite the fact that the Communist Party of France has denounced the attack on the League, the U.S. Communist Party has refused so far to participate in the protests against the French government's ban.

However, the Bloomington, Ind., Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), youth organization of the CP, did cosponsor a local demonstration in support of the League. Other sponsors of the action were the

Indiana University Young Socialist Alliance, New American Movement, and the Organization of Arab Students.

The news media showed considerable interest in many of the picket lines. Local TV stations had coverage

YSA calls for solidarity

Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), issued a statement July 7 solidarizing the YSA with the international protests against the banning of the Ligue Communiste.

"The YSA wholeheartedly supports these actions and calls for continuing protests," he said.

"This worldwide campaign must be continued by all those who support civil liberties.

"Rescind the ban on the Ligue Communiste!

"Free Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset!"

on demonstrations that occurred in St. Louis, Houston, Minneapolis, Boston, and Philadelphia.

Picket lines also took place in Pittsburgh; Detroit; Denver; Washington, D.C.; Atlanta; Cleveland; San Diego; and Los Angeles.

Actions are scheduled this week in Portland, Ore.; and Austin, Texas.



Detroit picket line Militant/Rochelle Fruit



200 demonstrated at French consulate in New York

Militant/Michael Baumann

5 British MPs urge lifting of ban

Int'l actions defend French Trotskyists

JULY 11—International protests continue against the banning of the Communist League by the French government.

The July 7-8 issue of the daily *Combat* reported that in West Berlin, 5,000 students took part in a solidarity meeting for the League held at the Free University. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, one of the leaders of the May 1968 upsurge in France, addressed the gathering.

The July 6 *Le Monde* reported a meeting of 2,000 students in Frankfurt, Germany, which was addressed by Cohn-Bendit and Rudi Dutschke, formerly a leader of the German student movement.

Five members of the British Parliament—Phillip Whitehead, Norman Atkinson, Michael Foot, Eric Heffer, and Frank Allaun—have sent an open letter to French President Georges Pompidou protesting the ban on the League.

Other protests in Britain include the

brief occupation of the French State Tourist Board on June 30 by 70 members of the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, followed by a demonstration. And a picket line protested outside the French Embassy in London on July 1.

The IMG has published a special issue of its newspaper *Red Weekly* calling for defense of the League.

In Toronto, Canada, 85 people demonstrated outside the French consulate on June 29. Speaking at the action were representatives of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière; Canadian section of the Fourth International; the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes; the Revolutionary Marxist Group; and the Labor Action Committee.

A joint statement against the banning of the League was issued in Québec by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière; Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes;

and Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist Group).

A news conference in Brussels denouncing the outlawing of the League was organized by the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (LRT—



Protest at French consulate in Toronto

Labor Challenge

Revolutionary Workers League), Belgian section of the Fourth International. At the news conference, a petition campaign was announced, with an appeal to "all democratic and workers organizations" to join in a campaign to demand the lifting of the ban. Initial signers of the petition include several leaders of the Belgian Communist Party.

In Wellington, New Zealand, picketers at the French Embassy on July 2 carried banners that read "Ban the bomb, not French socialists," referring to the imminent French nuclear tests in the South Pacific. The Socialist Action League, the New Zealand Trotskyist organization, called for an end to the ban on the League.

A protest statement was issued in Vienna on June 29. Signers include the Austrian Trotskyist organization, Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten (Revolutionary Marxist Group), and several other radical organizations.

Tunisian worker tells of French cop violence

By CAROLINE LUND

PARIS, July 8—In attempting to justify its banning of the Communist League, the French government has tried to portray the Trotskyist organization as an instigator of antisocial violence. The League was banned in the wake of an antifascist demonstration June 21 that ended in confrontations between the police and the demonstrators.

The real source of the violence, however, is clear from the story told to me by Mohammed Soyah, a 27-year-old Tunisian worker. Soyah was among those who responded to the Communist League's call for the June 21 demonstration. The demonstration was to protest a fascist meeting, sponsored by the group New Order. This meeting was to launch an openly racist campaign against the presence of Arab and African immigrants in France.



New Order thugs in front of their racist anti-immigration posters.

I was introduced to Mohammed Soyah by a former member of the Communist League at Nanterre University, where Soyah is studying; he also works as an electromechanic. I spoke with him today in a tiny dormitory room at Nanterre. He had only yesterday been released from prison, where he had been held since the night of the demonstration.

Soyah began his story by noting that the cops who surrounded the area of the New Order meeting clearly sympathized with the racist campaign of the fascists. "For example," he said, "when I got to the demonstration I spoke with a taxi driver who appeared to be Arab. He told me that the cops had just manhandled him and started to arrest him because he looked like an Arab. When the driver told the cops that he was French and didn't have anything to do with Arabs, they released him."

"Then we were attacked by a brigade of police, who tried to push the crowd back. I saw a special brigade of CRS [Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Companies, the special police] attack another part of the demonstration with tear gas."

"I have participated in almost every demonstration since May 1968," he said, "and I can't remember ever seeing so many CRS as were at this demonstration."

"Very soon I was jumped by two plainclothes cops, who beat me and took my bag, which contained only my helmet." In France, where demonstrations are illegal unless approved by the government, demonstrators often wear helmets for protection from the cops.

Soyah at first didn't know the attackers were cops and was afraid, he said, because he remembered how

hundreds of immigrant workers in France have been assassinated by racists under similar conditions.

"They took me and a Moroccan demonstrator to the police station in a police first-aid car—which shows, of course, that these 'first-aid cars' do not only serve to help the wounded," said Soyah. In attempting to whip up feelings against the Communist League, French government spokesmen had hypocritically accused the demonstrators of attacking the police first-aid cars.

"I might mention all the insults we received from the cops on the way to the station," Soyah added. "They called us 'dirty Arabs,' and, 'We'll kill you,' or 'We'll throw you in the Seine.'"

"When we arrived at the station we were the first two arrested from the demonstration. The chief cop asked the other police why they had only managed to bring in two so far!"

"Then I heard for the first time that I was charged with carrying molotov cocktails. I should mention here that people from New Order, who had also been arrested at the demonstration site, were allowed special permission by the cops to call people outside. Normally you are not allowed to call anyone for the first 24 hours they hold you."

"Later, the cops came up to me and presented me with a bag of stuff—I couldn't see what was inside—and two iron bars, saying 'Here, this is yours.' But I refused to touch them. I was sure they were trying to get me to put my fingerprints on the bag so they could say it was mine and contained arms."

"The next day they made a search of my apartment trying to find arms, but they found nothing."

"It was only Saturday evening—45 hours after my arrest—that I went before the judge and was charged with having illegal arms."

The case was such a transparent frame-up that the judge was finally forced to grant Soyah provisional liberty. This was after he had been held two days in the police station and 15 days in La Santé prison.

The racism and systematic violence of the French capitalist regime were graphically shown by the conditions in the prison that Soyah described to me. "In La Santé, all the prisoners are segregated by race, which means that all the Arab prisoners are in one section. Within the Arab section there would be one floor for the Tunisians, one floor for the Algerians, and another for the Moroccans."

The conditions are so degrading that in La Santé prison alone, 27 prisoners have committed suicide since the beginning of this year, and many more have attempted to do so.

Soyah said he heard of prisoners so desperate they tried to commit suicide by swallowing needles, glass, or a fork. Prisoners can easily get sleeping pills from the prison psychiatrist, he told me, and many of them have been so destroyed by prison life that they remain in a doped state, scarcely able to eat or light a cigarette.

Mohammed Soyah's story of the June 21 demonstration exposes the lies of the Pompidou regime in its campaign to legalize the Communist League. It is the Pompidou government whose police, courts, and prisons enforce a system of violence and racism against the French people and protect the fascist thugs.

The government has attacked the right of the Communist League to exist because the League has been in the forefront of the struggles challenging this system of violence.

500 French notables hit ban on Trotskyists

PARIS, July 8—Today's issue of the newspaper *Le Monde* contains an appeal signed by nearly 500 prominent people calling for the repeal of the government decree banning the Communist League, and demanding freedom for Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset, two imprisoned leaders of the League.

The appeal also calls for "the formation of a national committee on the basis of this appeal in order to wage a struggle to defeat the repression."

Among the signers of the half-page ad are Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Régis Debray, Marguerite Dur-

cal prisoners, especially Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset!"

In addition to this appeal, protest meetings and press conferences denouncing the ban and the imprisonment of Krivine and Rousset have been held in many French cities. The July 7 issue of the Paris daily *Combat* reported, for example, that in Lille a press conference was held featuring representatives of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the two major trade-union confederations in France, the largest teachers union, and the Left Radical Party. These organizations "vigorously denounced the arrest



Militant/Caroline Lund

Overflow crowd at July 4 Paris meeting to protest banning of French Trotskyists

as, Jean Seberg, Michèle Rey, and Constantine Costa-Gavras. Leaders of a whole range of political and trade-union organizations also signed, including the Socialist Party, the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the United Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, Workers Struggle, Women's Liberation Movement, the National Union of Secondary School Teachers, and *Revolution*, the daily newspaper founded by Jean-Paul Sartre.

The names of many other academic,

As we go to press...

JULY 11—The French government today appealed a lower-court ruling ordering the provisional release of French Trotskyist leader Alain Krivine. The Cour d'Accusation, the higher court, now has 30 days to reach a decision on the appeal. In the meantime, Krivine remains in jail.

literary, and cultural figures are also included.

The appeal states, in part, "By jointly dissolving New Order and the Communist League, by thus putting them both on the same level, the government would like to make it look as though it is responding to the desires of a large part of public opinion."

"It intends to bring political militants, leaders of the Communist League, before the State Security Court for violation of the 'antiwrecker law' and for 'attempted murder.'"

"We believe it is our duty to denounce this operation."

The signers demand:

- "Lift the decree dissolving the Communist League!"
- "Drop all charges against leaders or militants of the Communist League and against all militants who have been harassed since June 21!"
- "Immediate freedom for all politi-

cal prisoners, especially Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset."

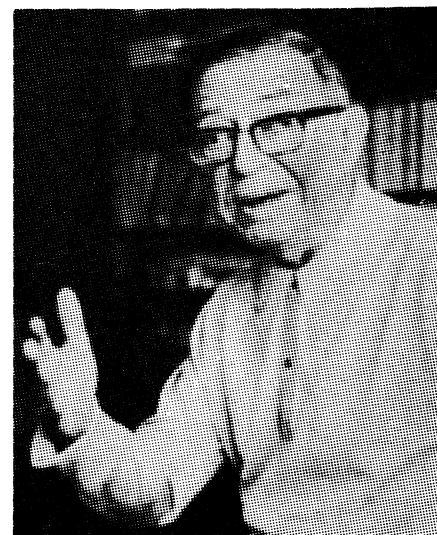
In another development, supporters and former members of the Communist League challenged the Pompidou government's repressive moves by mobilizing to openly sell the weekly newspaper *Rouge*, formerly the organ of the League.

A new issue of *Rouge* appeared here Friday, July 6. By Saturday night, dozens of young people were hawking *Rouge* in the streets of the Latin Quarter, which is full of restaurants and movie lines. They also asked for financial support for the paper and for the campaign to lift the ban on the League.

Today, Sunday, at the large market at the Convection metro (subway) stop, some 75 people sold *Rouge* to crowds of shoppers and distributed leaflets describing the defense campaign. A six-foot banner hung from a lamppost contained an explanation of the banning.

Rouge was sold at all the city's big markets. (Sunday is the day most French people do their food shopping.) Although many cops observed the salespeople, there was no attempt

Continued on page 22



SARTRE: 'Free Krivine and Rousset'

'Welfare' and forced sterilization in Alabama

By GEORGE BASLEY

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 7—The sterilization of the Relf sisters here reveals the racism of those who direct the welfare system.

The Relf family is about as down-trodden and oppressed as you can be. Lonnie Relf, the father, is in poor health and unable to work, so the entire family of five has had to subsist on \$156 a month welfare support. Minnie Relf, the mother, is unable to read or write.

Families such as the Relfs are considered by the welfare system to be burdens on society. The goal of federally funded projects like the Montgomery Community Action Committee (MCAC) is not to eliminate the poverty of those on welfare, but to keep them from reproducing. So they sterilized Mary Alice, 12, and Minnie Lee, 14, without their permission and attempted to sterilize their older sister, Katie, 16. When the nurse came for Katie, however, she locked herself in the bathroom and refused to be taken to the hospital.

The Relfs have filed suit against the government asking that everything possible be done to reverse the operation, demanding that forced sterilizations be stopped, and claiming \$1-million in damages.

The racism of the MCAC officials

The July 11 New York Times reported that the Relfs' suit has been amended to include John Dean and John Ehrlichman as defendants. The suit charges that these former White House aides were responsible for suppressing OEO guidelines setting forth conditions under which federally funded agencies could perform sterilizations.

is so blatant that Melvin Belli, head attorney for the Relfs, terms it "an open and shut case of assault and battery. This is the kind of thing Hitler did."

In Montgomery, according to lawyers working on the Relf suit, MCAC has followed a policy of combing Black housing projects and pressuring parents to authorize the sterilization of their children. For example, in none of the 11 additional sterilizations now known to have been performed by MCAC did the victims volunteer to be sterilized. Of these 11, 10 are Black, five are minors, and seven are considered by Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) officials to be retarded.

Montgomery racists are taking the suit on behalf of the Relf family none too kindly. The judge in the case,



The Relf family

Robert Varner, is threatening a contempt citation against attorney Joe Levine for publicizing the plight of the Relfs.

Prospects for a just hearing are bleak. In a recent trial, Varner asked government attorneys to remove Black jurors because the jury panel might have to stay together, and "white people in the area have not accepted the idea of eating with Negroes."

Varner refused to step down from the Relf case when the Relf lawyers asked him to because of his "open and blatant racial bias." A hearing on the case is set for July 30.

Dr. Warren Herns, former chief of program development and project evaluation for OEO's family planning division, claims that if the guidelines he prepared had been distributed to the agencies, the sterilizations would not have taken place. Dr. Herns resigned from the agency in 1972 because of what he called "political interference and the completely irresponsible action of OEO in blocking the dissemination of those guidelines."

The guidelines stated, in part, "No sterilization procedure shall be performed on any individual who does not, under applicable state law, have the legal capacity to himself consent to the procedure. No sterilization procedure shall be conducted unless the individual patient has given his informed, written consent to the procedure."

The absence of the guidelines encouraged abuses by unscrupulous welfare workers. Sterilization procedures were totally arbitrary, allowing local groups to make up their own rules. In Montgomery, that meant going after Black families, with or without their consent.

WONAAC: Right to choose

The following are excerpts from a press statement by Susan LaMont, a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

Since its formation in July 1971, WONAAC has carried out a campaign to educate the public about forced sterilization and to mobilize opposition to this practice, which is especially aimed at and carried out against Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican women, and women on welfare.

WONAAC's three demands, the repeal of all abortion laws, the repeal of all restrictive contraception

laws, and an end to forced sterilization, are based on the fundamental right of women to control their own bodies to decide when and if they will bear children.

No individual or institution . . . has the right to decide that a woman should be sterilized. The right to choose or not choose sterilization belongs to the woman alone—no matter what her age.

The constitutional guarantees that formed the basis for the historic Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion must also be extended to protect women from forced sterilization.

OEO guidelines suppressed

Relfs tell D.C. hearings of forced sterilizations

By BAXTER SMITH

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 10—The Senate Subcommittee on Health, chaired by Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), today wound up its twelfth day of hearings into federal involvement in drug experimentation, psychosurgery, and federal use of experimental medical devices under the guise of biomedical research.

Today's hearings heard testimony relating to the June 14 sterilization of two young Black women in Montgomery, Ala., at an Office of Economic Opportunity-funded family-planning clinic.

The two women, Mary Alice and Minnie Lee Relf, had been subjects in a birth-control experiment at the clinic in which they received 90-day shots of the drug depopovera. Although the drug is known to cause cancer in laboratory animals, the Montgomery Family Planning Clinic used it until last March.

The morning sessions heard testimony from Dr. Henry Simmons, assistant secretary for health and scientific affairs of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; the mother and father of the Relf women; the Relfs' attorney; and Dr. Warren Herns, a former high official in OEO.

The parents of the two sterilized women told the committee how a nurse had come to their home while Lonnie Relf, the father, was away. The nurse told Minnie Relf, the mother, to sign some papers with her "X," and she did so, believing she was authorizing more birth-control shots. Then the daughters were taken to the hospital and sterilized.

Simmons of HEW directed his remarks against Kennedy-sponsored legislation that would place a rigid restriction on the use of humans, par-

with such statements as: "I want the reasons for this hearing removed!" He even promised the Relf parents that he intended to see to it that forcible sterilization would never be used on young women again.

Despite these threats and promises, Kennedy timidly questioned Phillips about Dr. Herns's charges. Herns had earlier testified that he was against forced sterilization and that he believed Phillips knew who in the White House had ordered that a February 1972 OEO guideline not be distributed to local OEO centers. These guidelines would have prohibited forced sterilization at OEO-funded centers. 25,000 copies of the guidelines were discovered in a federal warehouse July 6.

Herns testified that he had conversations with Phillips and Dr. Louis Cooper, his superior, about the suppression of the guidelines. He told the committee that his superiors began to harass and intimidate him every time he raised the matter. He eventually resigned.

Although Kennedy himself alluded to rumors of White House pressure to quash the guidelines during the election year, he nevertheless refused to press Phillips on the issue.

At present, two probes are being conducted into the Alabama sterilizations—one by the Justice Department to investigate possible civil rights violations and the other by OEO itself.

HEW has set July 19 as the date for issuing new guidelines for sterilizations at federally funded centers. Guidelines issued in May 1971 removed all prohibitions against federal funding of sterilizations. HEW has suspended all national funding for sterilizations pending the new guidelines.

Support for the Relfs and other vic-



Lonnie Relf testifies before Kennedy Subcommittee on Health

Militant/Baxter Smith

ticularly prisoners and people under the age of 18, in federal experimentation with drugs, psychosurgery, and medical devices.

Kennedy questioned the attitude of HEW and the Nixon administration for not demanding higher standards of drug safety. Kennedy, who had termed the experimentation and sterilization on the Relfs "one of the most tragic experiments of all times," became visibly upset when Simmons stated, "We have the most stringent regulation of medical research in the world."

Though Kennedy blasted away at Simmons and HEW in the morning, he held his fire when Howard Phillips, the former director of OEO, spoke in the afternoon.

Kennedy had opened the hearing

tims of forced sterilization continues to mount. The four Black female members of the Congressional Black Caucus today sent a letter to Caspar Weinberger, secretary of HEW, urging the department to issue new guidelines that "will assure the voluntary nature of family planning services of all kinds, from birth control devices to sterilization, and for all recipients, not just minors and other legal incompetents."

On July 9 a group of 14 organizations held a press conference to protest the sterilizations. The organizations, including the National Council of Negro Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Organization for Women, Zero Population Growth, and the National Women's Political Caucus, called for an end to the use of federal funds for the sterilization of minors.

Crisis ebbs in money markets

The dollar's plunge: what caused it?

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 11—An international agreement providing for massive borrowing of foreign currencies by the U.S. has shored up the rapidly sinking dollar. Before the agreement, which extends "swap" credit lines to the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, the dollar had depreciated at least 10 percent in the last two weeks alone.

This takes place as fears of unbridled U.S. inflation sweep the world. A high West German official warned last week that a further decline in the dollar's value could wreck the world economy.

Meanwhile, the Federal Reserve moved to tighten credit further in this country in an attempt to dampen the economic upturn and possibly induce a "controlled" recession.

In U.S. swap operations, the Federal Reserve would borrow foreign currencies. These, in turn, would be used to purchase unwanted dollars that are being sold abroad. The U.S. purchasing operation would increase the demand for dollars and consequently it could temporarily drive the price of dollars upward.



London money market: gold reached \$127 an ounce.

In the last two days, however, it was not actual swaps but the announcement of the extension of credit to the U.S. to engage in swaps that turned the dollar around. These steps increased U.S. swap credits by \$6.25-billion to \$17.98-billion.

Since the U.S. holds only about \$12-billion in actual reserves, mainly gold, foreign governments have now agreed to lend Washington reserve credits far beyond what it could immediately repay. This show of supposed confidence in the U.S. Treasury moved the dollar value up 5 percent in two days. One money dealer told the *New York Times*, "They're trying to give the dollar all the help they can without spending any money." For the time being, he added, the ploy seems to have worked.

To get an idea of the decline of the value of the dollar before these moves, in 1969 the dollar bought four German marks. By December 1971 in the Smithsonian accords the rate had fallen to 3.22 marks per dollar.

In the monetary crisis last spring the rate was down to 2.8 marks. On Friday, July 6, the dollar closed at 2.26 marks and there was serious talk of the dollar sinking to one for two marks, representing a whopping decline of 50 percent in four years.

So far the present monetary crisis has not seen the volume of hot money crossing national boundaries typical of other recent world monetary upsets. But the precipitous drop in the dollar's value led one head of a Swiss national bank to declare that the situation was "completely out of control." These were the main dangers:

- The collapse of the dollar, which is still the key world currency for trade and investment and the main currency in monetary reserves, could bring about a drastic decline in trade investment and precipitate international recession.

- The low price of the dollar threatens to deprive Europe and Japan of needed export markets, forcing production to slow in these countries and



Frankfurt money market: dollar fell to record low

possibly causing a chain-reaction world recession in this way.

- The increased ability of the U.S. to export goods (because of their cheaper prices abroad) limits supplies in this country and increases the inflationary pressure here, all the more exacerbating the weakness of the dollar. This has already been a major factor in the food-price inflation.

Watergate?

As the world economy teeters between inflationary and recessionary dangers, the most frequently mentioned reason for the latest flight from the dollar is the Watergate scandal. The *New York Times* commented editorially on July 8: "To be sure, there are tangible causes of the drop in confidence in the American dollar. The Watergate affair has deepened skepticism about the ability of the Nixon administration to govern effectively. The racing American boom has generated the most serious inflation this country has experienced since World War II."

For the business interests who rule

the country there is more than a passing connection between Watergate and inflation. It is the inflation itself that undermines the dollar, but it is the Nixon administration that must pursue policies designed to bolster the dollar. Business fears that Nixon's loss of credibility will make it difficult for the administration to impose the recessionary policies necessary to strengthen the dollar.

July 6 brought the news that wholesale prices rose 2.3 percent in June, an annual rate of 27 percent. This will be passed on to consumers just at the time President Nixon's "Phase 4" policy goes into effect. There are serious doubts on Wall Street that the new scheme will work any better than "Phase 3."

U.S. capital itself is fleeing from the dollar. *Business Week* reported July 7, "European bankers insist that much of the money moving into other currencies is coming out of New York, where John Dean's testimony before the Senate committee was front-page news last week."

Continued on page 22

What workers of Uruguay are fighting for

"Last night the security forces put on an unusual display of force. Mounted policemen on horseback, regular policemen with clubs and soldiers with tanks put down an attempt by workers and students to demonstrate against the Government." With these words, a July 10 dispatch in the *New York Times* describes the sharpening crisis confronting the military-run regime of Uruguayan President Juan Bordaberry.

According to the *Times*, there were more than 300 arrests during the demonstration in downtown Montevideo. In addition, medical sources reported two dead and at least 20 wounded, several by bullets.

Further, police and military units staged a violent raid on the offices of the banned Communist Party daily newspaper, *El Popular*, arresting all staff members in the offices.

Despite this increased government repression, however, the CP-led Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT—National Workers Congress) has declared, according to the *Times*,

that its general strike will continue "until Mr. Bordaberry falls."

This strike has become the focus of opposition to Bordaberry's June 27 decision, made under intense pressure from the military, to abolish Congress and suspend other constitutional measures.

On June 30, Bordaberry dissolved the 400,000-member CNT, which had called the strike. He ordered the army and the police to try to break the strike by force. Hundreds of unionists were arrested, and strikers were forcibly dislodged from the factories and buildings they had occupied.

This resort to strong-arm methods by the government to break the strike did not work, however. So on July 3, the Labor Ministry tried another tack and announced salary increases: 31.45 percent for the private sector and 25 percent for civil servants. Simultaneously, however, major price rises were announced in basic items, such as bread, meat, fuel, and transportation.

These wage raises fell far short of the 83 percent that the CNT had been

asking for in an effort to offset inflation. In a dispatch from Montevideo July 4, *New York Times* correspondent Marvine Howe said the striking workers she spoke to "expressed disdain" for the wage hike.

A woman textile worker said, "It's a big sacrifice, but we're for the strike because we don't want a military government."

Another striker, a metalworker, said: "If Bordaberry thinks he's going to win us over with peanuts, he's mistaken. The cost of living has already gone up 35 percent this year, and so what good will the new raise do?"

The failure of both its initial violent crackdown on the workers and its token concessions has led to an increase of government violence against opponents of the regime. An undetermined number of political leaders have fled to Argentina. Although meetings have been prohibited, and it is thought that opposition parties may be banned, various opposition political forces have joined ranks against Bordaberry, calling for his resigna-

tion and an immediate restoration of constitutional freedoms.

"One of the most important consequences of the latest coup was the agreement reached this week between two of the country's leading political groups, which until now were bitter enemies—the conservative National party and the Broad Front, which includes Socialists, Communists and Christian Democrats," reported Marvine Howe. The two parties, now grouped in what is called the Resistance Front, have been joined by an "important group of dissidents" from Bordaberry's own Colorado Party.

According to a Reuters report July 2, a spokesman for the opposition called for a provisional government that would include members of the armed forces, all political parties, and workers' representatives.

According to the July 11 *New York Times*, Liber Seregni, the retired general who is the leader of the Resistance Front, has been arrested for his part in the July 9 Montevideo demonstration under "emergency security measures" passed by the regime.

'More betrayals like Vietnam' Meaning of U.S.-Sovie

By ANDY ROSE

NEW YORK — More than 300 people attended a forum here June 29 on "The meaning of Brezhnev's visit—What's behind the U.S.-Soviet détente?" given by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The meeting was sponsored by the New York SWP Campaign and the West Side, Lower Manhattan, and Brooklyn Militant Forums.

Barnes said the détente represents "the biggest change in the international situation since the cold war following the end of World War II."

Brezhnev and Nixon signed nine agreements, including agreements on transportation, science and culture, disarmament negotiations, establishing a Soviet-American Chamber of Commerce, and the "Accord on Avoiding Atomic War." But the Brezhnev visit draws its significance not from its announced results but from its place in a whole sequence of events and changing relationships.

Why the detente?

What lies behind the historic shift now taking place? What are the reasons for the about-face in U.S. policy from the cold war threats of "containment" or even "rollback" of the revolutions that had overthrown capitalism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China to the current policy of détente with those same states?

"Economics," Barnes said, "was the fundamental reason behind the détente." He pointed out that U.S. capitalism has lost the overwhelming and unquestioned dominance it enjoyed in the post-World War II period. It is still the strongest capitalist power, but it is relatively weakened in comparison with its main competitors.

"The tremendous productivity edge of American labor compared with German or Japanese labor has slowly but surely narrowed.

"The dollar has fallen, not to the ground, but it has plummeted so far that it can no longer be a stable bedrock for an international monetary system. The attempt to be the great imperialist military power and the great imperialist investor all over the world, while maintaining social peace at home, has caught up with the U.S.

"The squeeze has begun, and the competition for markets, for areas of investment, for energy resources, has heated up.

"While all this was occurring, the U.S.'s competitors were the first to

penetrate into the vast potential 'eastern market,' the markets of the Soviet bloc and of China to some degree. It was done for the first time on a large scale in 1966 when Fiat set up an \$800-million plant in the Soviet Union."

One of the primary goals the U.S. ruling class is trying to achieve through the détente is to gain an edge over their rivals in the competition for the markets, raw materials, and investment opportunities in the "eastern market."

Antiwar movement

Another major problem the capitalist rulers had to cope with was the radicalization within the United States, which began with the rise of the Black struggle and spread and deepened with the opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The antiwar movement, Barnes said, "altered American politics and limited the freedom with which the warmakers could operate. There was a growing lack of confidence in the capacity and ability and even the right of the rulers to rule. The fact was driven home, much as they hated to admit it, that they did not have a free hand.

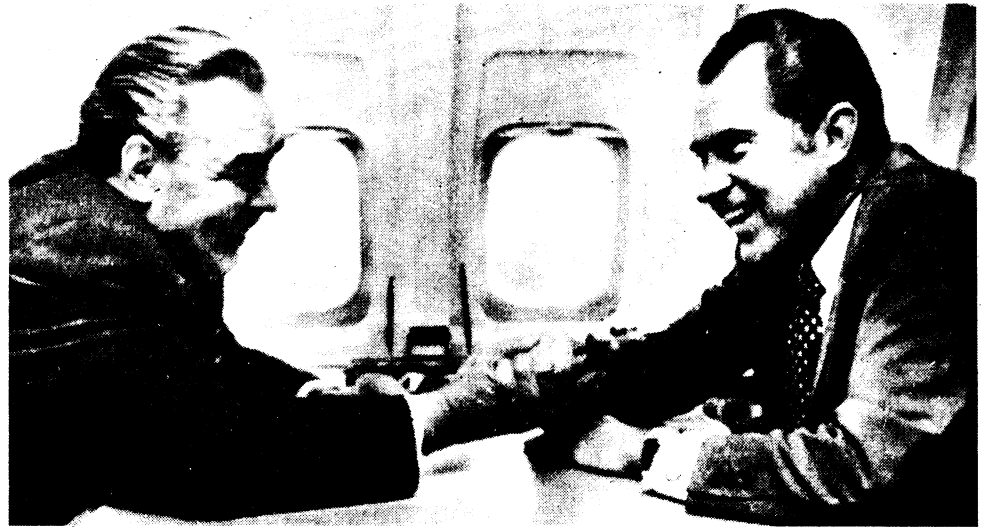
"Their problem was the American people; and if they didn't stop the war or alter it soon, the problem would become much worse. Because sooner or later growing numbers of the American workers, potentially the most powerful force they had to contend with, would move onto the scene."

They had to find a way to get out of Vietnam militarily, without the Vietnamese revolution triumphing, and they had to try and avoid any more Vietnams in the future. The economic and political costs of such ventures would prove too great.

"They needed some help here, too," Barnes said. "The question was, how to get it? How to prevent the next Vietnam? How to avoid confronting the decision of whether or not to send 100,000 or 200,000 or 300,000 U.S. troops to the Arab-Persian Gulf, for instance, and take the chances on what may happen here in the U.S.?"

"And the answer to all three questions, over time, all coincided in one person, Leonid Brezhnev. They clasped hands on the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution, one of the bloodiest, most heinous betrayals in the history of the workers movement.

"They began discussions on investment and trade with the Soviet Union.



BREZHNEV & NIXON: 'They clasped hands on the betrayal and strangling of the Vietnamese people and agreed to do this anywhere in the world—anywhere it became necessary.'

"And they agreed to follow up the betrayal and strangling of the Vietnamese people with the agreement to do this anywhere in the world—anywhere it became necessary."

Soviet bureaucracy

Barnes pointed out that the Soviet bureaucracy faced problems of its own that impelled it to seek the détente.

The development of the Soviet Union from the backwardness of semi-colonial Russia before the revolution into the second industrial power in the world testifies to the superiority of its planned economy and socialist property forms.

But the Soviet Union still lags behind the advanced capitalist powers in labor productivity and in many areas of technology. Moreover, the fact that the economy is run by a privileged bureaucratic caste, rather than by the masses of workers, distorts and retards economic development.

Barnes said the bureaucracy faced "the problem of the expectations of the workers and intellectuals—the growing proletarianized and cultured masses of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—who are demanding more, not less, in quantity and in quality. And as this demand rose, the big fat extra chunk of pie for the bureaucracy was becoming threatened."

Thus they desperately needed Western capital and technology. The Polish workers' uprising in December 1970 signaled what could happen if the bureaucracy did not heed the demands for a higher standard of living.

Barnes emphasized that revolutionary socialists do not condemn the signing of trade agreements between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries. Such agreements may be necessary and desirable, as they were in the early days of the Soviet Union under the revolutionary leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

What makes the détente a betrayal is that Brezhnev and Company purchase these trade agreements with a pledge to maintain the world status quo and cooperate with the imperialists in crushing revolutionary struggles. Vietnam is just the first payment for these trade deals.

"Will this bring about the peace and prosperity they talk about? No," Barnes said, "the peace it will bring is the 'peace' that is shown in Vietnam and Cambodia. That is, the peace of the temporary agreement of the Soviet bureaucracy and the U.S. imperialists to try to brutally and rapidly crush in the bud any threat to the international status quo.

"What about long-term prosperity? Can it be achieved? The answer also is no. Yes, big changes can occur, adjustments can occur. The eastern markets may be a significant help, in certain industries and for a period of time, for the major imperialist powers. But more fundamentally the détente opens up another area of accelerated competition and conflict among the capitalist powers.

Leninism vs. Stalinism

Brezhnev's maneuvers and deals are the continuation—not of Lenin's policies, as he falsely claims—but of Stalin's. All the fundamental principles of Leninism, Barnes explained, were overturned with the rise of the privileged Soviet bureaucracy headed by Stalin.

"From the epoch of wars, revolutions, and colonial uprisings—as Lenin characterized this epoch—it became, under Stalin, the epoch of 'peaceful coexistence.' It became the epoch of 'socialism in one country,' not international revolution. The world revolution became small change to use in futile deals to try and protect the 'Soviet Fatherland.'

"Cooperation with the bosses on an international scale became the watchword, not the class struggle. Instead of supporting the unconditional right of self-determination of oppressed nationalities and mobilizing and leading them, the policy became the repression of the oppressed nationalities and subordinating the colonial revolution to the stability of the status quo.

Hall & Brezhnev mum on Cambodia



Daily World/Bill Andrews

"I don't know who busted their back to welcome Brezhnev the most," Barnes noted, "the ruling class—with the 21-gun salute, the arm-in-arm reviewing of the troops, the entire show—or the American Communist Party.

"The *Daily World* ran a cartoon depicting Leonid Brezhnev in the firmament of the heavens, with the sun and moon of 'peace' and 'friendship' twirling around his head.

"I kept looking for the caption that would have said, 'Our comrade's in his heaven and all's right with the world.' But they left it off. . . .

"To add insult to injury, after the tremendous welcome the *Daily World* tried to lay out, Gus Hall only had tea and cookies with

Brezhnev at an unannounced little meeting that was not on the formal schedule.

"Gus Hall told the press that the meeting was held in an atmosphere of humor between two old friends. They discussed a few things like the struggle against racism in this country. He said Brezhnev was particularly interested in inflation and the economic situation. . . .

"But strangely enough, one topic that Brezhnev and Gus Hall didn't hit on in their entire two-hour round of mutual self-congratulation was Cambodia, where U.S. bombs are raining down on the Cambodian people. Gus Hall must have choked on a cookie early in the session and was incapable of raising with his mentor this one little problem."

t detente

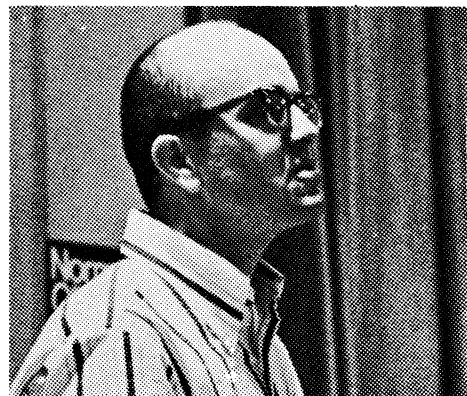
"Stalinism means to declare all policies as victories, all retreats as steps forward, and for all mistakes, to find scapegoats and shoot them, if the mistake is bad enough. Otherwise just lie about it."

These policies of Stalinism have led to defeat after defeat for the world revolution, from the rise of fascism in Germany to the most recent betrayal of the Vietnamese.

Role of China

During the discussion period a question was raised about the role of China in the détente. "The Chinese regime," Barnes said, "has exactly the same concept of building socialism in one country that Moscow has."

"The Maoists in Peking went through a series of tests and proved themselves very thoroughly to Nixon: their support for Pakistan against the struggle of Bangladesh; for the Ceylonese government's slaughtering of the insur-



Militant/Michael Baumann

BARNES: SWP leader analyzes détente

gents there in 1971; for the Sudanese dictatorship's massacre of the Sudanese Communist Party. And since the détente has begun, their support to the Greek colonels and the shah of Iran shows the same policy.

"Don't forget it was through the Chinese that the screws were twisted on the Vietnamese and the deal with Brezhnev set up. When Nixon visited China at the same time as a big escalation of the bombing in Vietnam, that was the first big proof to the Vietnamese that they would get no support from the powerful workers states that could have aided them."

What about the Sino-Soviet dispute? "To me," Barnes said, "this is the low point of the degeneration so far of Stalinism and socialism in one coun-

try. Two states that have established socialist property forms, that have gone through revolutions, are in essence confronting each other as state powers, each trying to build national communism, and giving gigantic openings to the imperialists as they do so.

"We'll see an accelerated competition between Peking and Moscow for the favor of Nixon, and we'll see the American ruling class use this division to further its own aims."

Will the deals succeed?

The effects of the new collaborative relations between the Soviet bureaucrats and the capitalist overlords cannot yet be completely foreseen, Barnes said. "We have to assume we will see more betrayals like Vietnam."

"But in addition to the betrayals that are on the agenda are the explosions. Nixon and Brezhnev can't halt these. There will be new Vietnams; new explosions in the Arab East; new explosions in Eastern Europe, hastened by the very agreements that are signed; new struggles in the United States itself. The U. S. ruling class will make new attempts to put pressure on the workers to hold down wages, at the same time sinking the roots of the coming American explosion deeper and deeper into more powderkegs around the world."

The Stalinists have always insisted that building "socialism in one country" was a more "realistic" policy than promoting world revolution. The truth is, Barnes concluded, "the realistic policies were not the policies of Stalin and his heirs, because they put us in the situation where, even 55 years after the Russian revolution, we still face the problem: either revolution or the barbarous destruction of humanity."

"The realistic alternative was the alternative Trotsky proposed, which was the continuation of Lenin's policy; it accepted the reality of workers' struggles and accepted the responsibility to construct a leadership that could lead them to victory."

"The utopian perspective is that of the Nixons and the Brezhnevs."

"The struggles of the Vietnamese, the struggles of the colonial peoples, the oppressed nationalities, the workers, the women, students, and all oppressed people—that's the reality, and that's the future."



STALIN & VON RIBBENTROP (Nazi foreign minister): Stalin claimed his pact with Hitler would ensure peace, but it paved the way for Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Brezhnev's deals with Nixon are no improvement.

Nixon seeks Peking aid as Lon Nol's army retreats

By DICK ROBERTS

"Cambodian cease-fire mostly up to Peking" declared the headline of the July 7 *Christian Science Monitor*. It expresses the hopes of the Nixon administration as Cambodian ruler Lon Nol's military position continues to deteriorate under the impact of rebel advances.

"China now appears to loom as the key to a long-sought cease-fire in Cambodia," *Monitor* correspondent Charlotte Saikowski wrote from Washington, D.C.

"As President Nixon grapples urgently for a way out of the Cambodian impasse," Saikowski continued, "the question arises: Can he convince Peking to bring enough pressure to bear on its client, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, to negotiate a settlement in that politically confused corner of Indo-China?"

It is widely believed that Peking has been the main ammunition supplier to the Cambodian rebels. Last week Sihanouk charged that ammunition supplies had been cut off since January as a result of the big-power détente.

In San Clemente, July 6, President Nixon met with Huang Chen, China's special emissary to the United States, on the Cambodian situation. It was also confirmed by the White House that Henry Kissinger would visit Peking in early August to discuss Cambodia.

When Kissinger was asked in Los Angeles about Peking's possible role in a Cambodian cease-fire, he replied, "The public expressions of the Chinese leaders have been in the direction of peace throughout Indochina." This is Kissinger's way of saying that he is

greater than the Prince previously has been willing to concede.

"If directed principally at China, there was nothing in Premier Chou's speech to indicate Peking is ready to comply," *Globe and Mail* correspondent Burns commented. Burns con-



No letup in U.S. bombing, but Sihanouk says Peking has cut off supplies for Cambodian rebels.

tinued, "The Chinese leader made no mention of arms. . . ."

"Diplomats in Peking considered it highly unlikely Peking will agree to Mr. Sihanouk's plea since doing so would involve a breach of an international accord, and cut the ground from China's vigorous condemnation of U.S. military interference in Cambodia."

Meanwhile Washington has made it clear that it has no intentions of abiding by the Aug. 15 congressional bombing cutoff date if Pnompenh's military situation hasn't improved.

The new chief of the Pentagon, James Schlesinger, told a news conference July 6 that it was "quite possible" Nixon would seek a bombing extension if the situation continued to deteriorate. In the same conference, Schlesinger pleaded with the Lon Nol regime to "demonstrate that it had the inner strength and discipline to survive," reported the *New York Times*, July 7.

These are odd words considering the Lon Nol regime is so notoriously corrupt that it collects millions of dollars from Washington to support "phantom" units of its army, and that its sole reason for survival is the murderous daily bombing of the rebel forces by U.S. planes.

Further confirmation that Washington is seeking help from Moscow and Peking to arrange a deal came from Pnompenh itself. On July 9, In Tam, premier of the Lon Nol government, declared that Washington had not consulted him nor informed him about negotiations. "This is a problem for Khmers to discuss with Khmers," said In Tam.

The U.S. embassy in Phompenh answered with the arrogant statement that "it's not enough to just say the Khmers have to work this out themselves. They have to work it out in a framework established by the great powers and others."

confident Peking will betray the rebel forces by supporting a settlement favorable to Washington. That is, one allowing a pro-U.S. regime to remain in power in Pnompenh.

In Peking, Premier Chou En-lai sought at a banquet with Sihanouk to give the impression that China would not desert the liberation forces. Chou condemned the continued U.S. bombing of Cambodia.

However, Sihanouk spoke at the same banquet. *Toronto Globe and Mail* correspondent John Burns reported: "Prince Norodom Sihanouk has issued an impassioned appeal to third-world countries to support his forces in Cambodia, and in effect, break the Paris agreement by supplying arms and ammunition. . . ."

"[Prince] Sihanouk's pledge that his forces will continue the fight 'even if there are left for them only the archaic weapons of their ancestors' left many diplomats with the impression that the military arm of the prince's united front government may be facing an arms and ammunition shortage

In Our Opinion

Stop the bombing!

U.S. B-52s and fighter-bombers are pounding Cambodia with more than 50,000 tons of explosives per month, the highest bombing rate in the history of the war. The destruction caused by these murderous raids is almost unimaginable: thousands of people killed or maimed, tens of thousands made refugees, the land utterly devastated.

Without the bombing the Lon Nol dictatorship could not survive a day. Even with the bombing it is barely holding on to Phnompenh. The responsibility for artificially prolonging the life of this weak and isolated regime, when the potential for victory by the revolutionary insurgents is so great, falls squarely on the "peaceful coexistence" deals the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats have entered into with Nixon. Nixon is relying on the pressure they can exert on the rebel forces to compromise and allow a continued imperialist foothold in Cambodia, just as they came to his rescue to maintain the Thieu regime in South Vietnam.

Not a word of condemnation of the bombing or solidarity with the Cambodian revolution was heard from Leonid Brezhnev as he clowned around the U.S. last month. Instead, he signed a joint statement with the U.S. commander-in-chief that piously "stressed the need to bring an early end to the military conflict in Cambodia. . . ."

Prince Sihanouk, the ousted Cambodian chief of state, confirmed in a recent interview that the Soviet Union and the U.S. were pressuring for a compromise negotiated settlement. He also disclosed that Peking had cut off arms deliveries to the rebels in January 1973. This treacherous action was taken under cover of complying with the Paris "peace" accords, which the U.S. and Saigon brazenly violate every day!

The betrayal of the Cambodian rebels lays bare the counterrevolutionary core of the "peaceful coexistence" deals: acquiescence to brutal imperialist aggression against any struggle that disrupts the status quo.

The blood of Cambodian bombing victims is also on the hands of the U.S. congressional "doves," who sanctioned the continuation of bombing attacks in return for Nixon's promise to stop by August 15.

The experience of years of U.S. duplicity in Vietnam proved to thousands of antiwar activists that Washington's promises to stop its aggression at some later date are worthless. We must continue to demand:

Stop the bombing now!

U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!

Kennedy & Wallace

Ted Kennedy made two key moves recently in his bid for the 1976 Democratic Party presidential nomination. On July 4 he paid homage to George Wallace at the annual Audie Murphy Patriotism Award Ceremony in Decatur, Ala. And on July 10, he brought the Relfs, a Black family from Alabama, to testify before his Senate Health Subcommittee hearings on forced sterilization.

Kennedy, who masquerades as a supporter of civil rights for Black people and a friend of the working class, told Wallace—the racist and antilabor governor of Alabama—that they both shared "the spirit of America." Kennedy assured his Decatur audience that he hadn't come "to lecture" them about racial injustice.

Kennedy, however, in his drive to the White House, needs to win support not only from racists like Wallace, but also from Black people—who account for about one-fourth of the Democratic Party's votes.

That's why he brought the Relfs to Washington. Their daughters, Minnie Lee, 14, and Mary Alice, 12, were illegally sterilized by a Montgomery birth-control clinic. Kennedy's posturing as a champion of these victims of Alabama racism, just a week after praising the overtly racist governor of that state, reveals the cynical maneuvering of this front-running contender for the Democratic Party presidential nomination.

This is typical of how the Democratic and Republican parties—which are committed to the system of capitalist minority rule—have always treated Black people and working people. In order to effectively fight against the racism, inflation, and unemployment that are caused by this capitalist system, Black people and working people need to break out of the two-party shell game and end their reliance on the Democratic Party. Black people need their own party, a party not beholden to the racists like Wallace. And working people need a labor party, based on the trade unions, to defend the rights and standard of living of workers against the bosses.

Letters

CP and elections

As a reader of *The Militant* and the *Daily World*, I have greatly appreciated your recent articles on the Communist Party's support for Democrat Herman Badillo in the New York City Democratic primary. Considering that the CP has their own candidate for mayor in NYC your political analysis was helpful in showing why they would actually support someone like Badillo.

For the benefit of those who still find backhanded support by the CP for Democrats hard to believe, I recommend a look at the CP's record in a place like Nashville, where the politics are not quite so subtle. Last fall the CP ran a candidate here against Democrat Richard Fulton for Congress. But in keeping with their tradition, they also ran Randy Shannon, a member of the CP, in the earlier primary as a Democrat!

I almost voted for Shannon in the hope that he would win the primary and be forced to run against the other CP candidate in the general election.

B. H.

Nashville, Tenn.

Worked in the fields

The articles concerning César Chávez and the United Farm Workers Union, published in the June 29 issue really tells it like it is! During the depression era I worked in the fields of California and know the plight of these people. They certainly need a national union—representing the farm workers of this country. I hope the UFWU is the answer.

W. W.

San Luis Obispo, Calif.

Safer in Peking than Pekin?

The rulers of the U.S. would like us to believe that there still are towns in the heartland of this country where Richard Nixon can travel without being greeted by a demonstration. Events in the central Illinois town of Pekin on June 15 prove otherwise.

As Nixon's motorcade whisked into town for the dedication of the "Congressional Leadership Research Center," people in the crowd raised signs that read "Resign with honor" or "You can't hide from Watergate in Pekin." These people, however, were subjected to severe harassment by Secret Service thugs and local cops who wanted this absolutely meaningless "dedication" to come off as clean as apple pie.

John Dean recently revealed in the Watergate hearings that Haldeman had ordered that "any means, legal or illegal" be used to make demonstrators invisible when Richard Nixon was traveling or appearing somewhere. Several people in Pekin can testify that those orders have not been rescinded.

A "Stop Bombing Cambodia" banner raised by the Indochina Peace Campaign was stepped on by a Secret Service agent. One demonstrator was dragged from the crowd, roughed up, and detained for several hours by Pekin cops for carrying an "Impeach Nixon" sign (they claimed it constituted a dangerous weapon).

In spite of the severe attacks on civil rights in Pekin, the events that day prove that there are few places in the world that Richard Nixon can travel to for some phony cere-

monial hoopla without being greeted by angry demonstrators.

In fact, it seems that the only places Nixon can go without protest are Moscow and Peking!

Norton Sandler

St. Louis, Mo.

Impact of women's struggle

In the latest issue of *Inland Printer*, a printing trades journal, there are a couple items that show the impact of the women's liberation movement.

One item, titled "Power of Women's Lib," tells about 60 members of a new organization called Housewives of Pressmen Erupt (HOPE) who demonstrated at a printing plant to protest the fact that their husbands have received no raises since 1970.

Another item reported on an ad in the Quebec French-language daily *Le Soleil*. The ad shows a woman's newsprint-brassiered torso with the headline "Put Your Product in Newspaper—This Newspaper." The ad was protested by the director of the Women's Bureau of the Canadian Department of Labor as the product of a "slick advertising firm with a perverted sense of humor."

A few years ago you would never have seen these types of items in the trade journals.

A. H.

New York, N.Y.

Every little bit

Enclosed please find contribution for *The Militant* of \$2. I regret I cannot contribute a greater amount, but please understand that the job situation is so atrocious here in Ann Arbor that the only job I could harness was one paying only \$1.65 an hour, and only 20 hours a week.

I enjoy receiving *The Militant* and look forward to the day when workers shall control collectively the means of production. Although small, I hope my enclosed contribution is accepted with the same appreciativeness of a larger contribution from a person who may be able to afford it.

T. G.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

Fuel shortage a fake

At a time when the oil companies are claiming a fuel shortage, an incident occurred at the Arco refinery where I work that shows the real underlying cause and motivation for this "shortage." I haven't talked to a single worker who believes the lies of the oil companies about the fuel shortage; we operate the refineries and know the companies too well to believe what they say.

An older Black worker went to the company first-aid station complaining of chest pains and excessive sweating. The doctor realized that he was having a heart attack. Did the doctor have any concern about this worker's health, or administer first aid, or even call an ambulance? Nope. He told him to get off company property as fast as possible, and the worker drove himself to the hospital.

Fortunately, the man lived; but certainly no thanks to the company, which is more concerned with protecting its own interests and liabilities than in showing even a minimal concern for the people they exploit.



The viciousness of this incident shows that the only thing that will fundamentally change our situation is to nationalize the oil industry under workers control. And let me be the first to nominate Arco for such a step.

*An Arco worker
Houston, Texas*

Sit-down strike

I am writing concerning a recent sit-down strike at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville, Ohio. At the present time about 700 brothers are locked in their cells 24 hours a day for refusing to work during the strike. There is a law stating that prisoners do not have to work unless they choose to.

Our strike was a peaceful sit-down, and there was no violence whatever. Some officials have stated that this mass lockup was the worst move they had ever seen.

Also, I might add there are only 200 jobs in the prison here and approximately 1,100 inmates. So we are being punished for refusing to go to nonexistent jobs when it isn't even mandatory for convicts to work in the first place!

*A prisoner
Lucasville, Ohio*

Democrat Bobby Seale

On June 21, a banquet at the Nik-kole International Club in Oakland celebrated the official dissolving of the Bobby Seale-Elaine Brown election campaign committee, and the launching of the "New Oakland Democratic Organizing Committee."

Seale and Brown, two nationally prominent leaders of the Black Panther Party, ran for mayor and city council, respectively, in the Oakland municipal elections last April 17. Both candidates ran as Democrats in the "nonpartisan" election.

The purpose of the New Oakland Democratic Organizing Committee is, according to Seale, to "run progressive people's candidates in upcoming city elections, and work to implement the basic platform of our last Mayoral campaign." Herman Smith (the former Seale-Brown campaign manager) and Elaine Brown were identified by the *Black Panther* newspaper as leading officers of the new organization.

*Rick Congress
Oakland, Calif.*

Needs The Militant

Enclosed is my new address.

I need *The Militant* badly. It is the only way I can remain informed on the worldwide struggle of the oppressed against their capitalistic exploiters—especially since I know of no socialists near my home.

*D. M.
West Seneca, N. Y.*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Tenacity of Farah workers

Since May 10, 1972, about 2,000 workers, mostly Chicanos, have been on strike against the Farah Manufacturing Company in El Paso and San Antonio, Texas. Farah is one of the world's biggest makers of slacks, yet they stubbornly refuse to pay their employees a living wage.

When the Farah workers decided they wanted to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union (AC-WU), the company responded with firings, threats, and intimidation.

It has been rough going for the strikers. They were poor to start with, and they have been subsisting on \$30-a-week strike benefits for more than a year.

However, in spite of the hardships, the strikers are hanging tough. They are determined to win their union. This is the picture that emerges from a number of interviews with strikers that appeared in the June 16 *New York Times*.

One of the strikers, Benjamin Robles, is now four months behind on the mortgage payments for his modest house. The state may soon cut off his food stamps too. But he says one of the worst things about the strike "is that I have to say no when my daughter asks me for a dime to buy a rubber ball."

"If we need to strike another year, we can hang on," said Robles. "I know we can win. I have it in my heart."

"A year is a long time and sometimes it is discouraging," said José Urquizo. "But we will win. I know we will. It's not just Farah we are fighting," he went on. "There are a lot of Farahs in the Southwest—businessmen who think they can treat Chicano workers any way they want."

Urquizo's wife, mother, three sisters-in-law, and two cousins are also on strike. "It is hardest on my children," he says. "When they ask me to buy them toys

I can only tell them, 'Look, my son, Farah doesn't want to give me more pennies.'"

Another striker, Alice Saenz, was supporting her husband and three children on \$53 a week when the strike was called, but she walked out anyway.

"The main reason we need a union is for job security," she said. "We could get fired for any reason. We didn't have a right to say anything in the plant. When a union organizer gave me a card to read, my supervisor said, 'You'd better throw it away or you'll be fired.'"

Roberto and Gloria Sagaribay worked at Farah before the strike. They have two children and were deeply in debt. Unable to pay the rent, they were soon evicted from their house.

"Last month they wanted to come and take our furniture because we could not keep up the payments," said Mr. Sagaribay. "It is hard living like this, but we will stick to it. We want to better ourselves so we can make things better for our kids."

Their tenacity apparently even surprised some union officials. For example, an ACWU official in New York is quoted as saying, "When the word came in that they were walking out of the San Antonio plant, we were astonished. We figured it would last two or three days and then they would quietly go back."

In reality, the opposite has been true. When Chicanos have wanted to form a union, they have had to fight twice as hard as Anglo workers. Just look at how long the Chicano farm workers have been struggling to get the union of their choice, the United Farm Workers, recognized.

But these workers are also doubly motivated. They are resisting their exploitation as workers and their oppression as Chicanos. This is the source of their extraordinary courage and self-sacrifice.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Escape from poverty?

Government statistics provide useful information on the extent of poverty and the declining standard of living in this country. But the conclusions of government reports often cover up the real situation.

The Labor Department reported July 6 that unemployment declined in June to 4.3 million, a decrease of 100,000 from the April and May levels. But the same report also revealed that "discouraged workers"—those who want jobs but have given up reporting to the U.S. Employment Service because there are no jobs for them—increased to 789,000 for the April-June quarter.

More than half of these "discouraged workers" are women, and about three-fifths are Black.

The widely reported "decline in unemployment" relates only to the number of workers registered at government employment agencies. It does not tell how many are in fact unemployed or if there are more now than three months ago.

An even more misleading distortion of facts relates to the millions who live in poverty. The U.S. Census Bureau's low-income report, released July 4, purports to show that a million people rose from the depths of poverty in 1972.

In these times of inflation and high unemployment, how is it possible for any of the 24.5 million who live below the poverty level to improve their standard of living?

The poverty level in 1972 was set by government statisticians at \$4,275 a year for a nonfarm family of four. This figure is adjusted from year to year to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index.

The story put out by the Census Bureau is useful to apologists for capitalism. It bolsters their contention that every day in every way even the poor are living better and better. They operate as if it were possible to fool people into thinking themselves well off when they are not, trusting no one reads the full report.

Some facts in the Census Bureau report were that the number of low-income whites declined by about 9 percent in 1972, from 17.8 million to 16.2 million, and that nearly one-third of them were people over 65 years of age who benefited from a Social Security increase of 10 percent in 1972.

The report does not show, of course, that the survivors among those who received increase Social Security benefits last year are today worse off, not better. The fact is that their benefits have been wiped out by the advance in food prices.

Last January, Social Security benefits were increased another 20 percent, still insufficient to offset rising prices.

The added cost of this Social Security increase is \$7-billion, half of it to be passed on to workers in the form of payroll deductions. This means a drastic reduction in take-home pay for low- and middle-income workers. For workers with a gross pay of \$12,000 (considerably above average), the 1972 Social Security tax of \$468 will increase to \$631.80 this year, a 35 percent jump. Next year it will go up again to \$702, 50 percent above the 1972 deduction.

The constantly increasing burden of taxes contributes to the decline in the living standard of all workers.

The U.S. Labor Department announced on June 25 its updated 1972 urban family budgets. The "lower budget" required is \$7,386 a year. It is for a family of four with one full-time worker. This budget, says the report, does not "represent a minimum or subsistence level of living." Nor does it include any frills. However, it is 73 percent over the \$4,275 poverty level.

So those climbing out of the depths of poverty have a long way to go before reaching what is officially considered a barely adequate standard of living. Meanwhile, Nixon continues to spend billions for war—money that could go for social welfare.

The Great Society

Might consider it a refuge—That mock POW camp slated for the Air Force Academy in Colorado will be surrounded by a steel chainlink fence topped with barbed wire, an official explained, "more to keep people out than to keep people in." Meanwhile, it was erroneously reported that 14 cadets committed suicide at the Academy in 1970. The 14 simply attempted suicide. Only five succeeded.

The recyclers—New York's Sanitation Dept. pays Harrison By-Products to take away the frozen bodies of dogs and cats killed by the SPCA. The company grinds them up for dog food, fertilizer and tallow for candles and soap. "Most people think we bury them with pink ribbons or something," a sanitation spokesman said. "They don't want to hear their dog ends up as a candle." The Staten Island Advance reports that Harrison By-Products, once owned by Swift & Co., "in-

sists that nothing has ever been used for human consumption."

Making do—British imperialism may lament its shrinking share of the world market, but it has a no-nonsense approach to sales at home. Candy stores in England are selling children Shandy, a lemonade including 2 percent beer. The British Council on Alcoholism says it leaves some of the kiddies thirsting for something with more kick.

Some serve a little more—"In the Guru Maharaj Ji's ashrams there is a 'house mother' who cooks, washes up, irons clothes and serves the food. The heavies are, of course, all men. According to (Rennie) Davis, consciousness of sex roles is still, regrettably, low among the Guru Maharaj Ji's devotees. . . . But in any case it doesn't matter. 'Are you oppressed as a woman in the ashram?' Davis

asked the 'house mother' of a Manhattan ashram as she was serving up our health food lunch. 'Oh no,' she laughed gently, 'We all serve the Guru Maharaj Ji.'"—July Ramparts.

Perfect Disciple—" . . . Rennie's admiration for the Perfect Master . . . knows no bounds. . . . With such faith, he has no difficulty explaining what might appear as a blatant contradiction, if not an outright hypocrisy. The Guru Maharaj Ji . . . has a marked weakness for expensive cars, motorcycles, and airplanes. . . . 'Last time,' Rennie explains, 'the Perfect Master came. He was dressed in rags and nobody believed him. This time He's come back as a king and said 'Pow—dig this, I'm here everybody and you can't miss me this time.' Besides, the material things He has are all just toys that He uses to make people realize how ludicrous money is.'"—Ramparts.

Harry Ring



©1973 HERBLOCK

Women In Revolt

End forced sterilization!

The \$1-million suit filed on behalf of the Relf sisters in Alabama has brought the practice of sterilization to national attention for the first time. Sections of the Black liberation and feminist movements have been raising the issue for years.

Investigations as a result of the suit have revealed that at least 11 other women have been involuntarily sterilized by the same agency. And that's only the tip of the iceberg. Even though statistics on forced sterilization are hard to come by, enough is known to prove that forced sterilization, particularly in the Black community, is widespread.

For instance, a survey in 1968 of 500 hospitals showed that more than half of them sometimes insist on sterilization as a condition for approving an abortion request.

The so-called right-to-life forces have demagogically used the argument that legalizing abortion would lead to "other things." They raise the specter of euthanasia, infanticide, and forced sterilization. But where are they now? I don't see them out defending the Relf family or condemning the

racist practices of the Office of Economic Opportunity. And Nixon's belief in the "sanctity of life" apparently doesn't extend to the Relf sisters' right to have children if they choose.

The truth of the matter is that the right to abortion and an end to forced sterilization are opposite sides of the same coin—they both involve a woman's right to control her own body. That's why the feminist in the abortion rights movement have raised the two demands simultaneously.

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) explained in a position paper presented in 1972: "Just as we have opposed forced motherhood, we have also opposed any attempt to limit the number of children a woman has through forced sterilization."

"This has been one of the things that has differentiated WONAAC from other groups. We have made it clear that for us abortion is not a population issue, but an issue involving the fundamental rights of women. We see both forced motherhood

and forced sterilization as serious crimes against women."

The issues here are very clear. They are violation of a woman's right to control her own body and open, blatant racism.

The forced sterilization programs in Black communities are promoted by racists who claim that sterilization would "alleviate the welfare problem."

When State Representative Richard Friske (R-Mich.) proposed a population control plan last year, he made it pretty clear what he was talking about. "There is a need for curbing the growth of the drone population that weakens our society," Friske said. "The danger today is that educated, propertied Americans will limit their families, while the ignorant, dependent elements will multiply."

The women's liberation movement and Black organizations should join together in support of the Relf family. What is needed is a vigorous denunciation of these practices and a loud outcry: "End Forced Sterilization Now."

Linda Jenness



By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



1898: The battle for Wilmington, N.C.

This is the second of two articles tracing the history of racist violence in Wilmington, N.C.

The surrender of the Confederacy in April 1865, ending the Civil War, was a deep blow to the status quo in Wilmington.

In February 1865, hoping to avoid imminent defeat, the Confederate army began recruiting slaves to fill certain tasks. General Robert E. Lee promised them freedom if they fought against the Yankees. Nevertheless, Wilmington fell later that month to a 6,500-man Union army, of which some 2,000 were Black. Many of these Black soldiers, both from the North and the South, took up residence in Wilmington after the war.

These Blacks, combined with the many ex-slaves in the area who were freed following the war, gave Wilmington a majority Black population for an extended period after the war.

This situation, combined with the influx of many Northerners, had a major impact on race relations in the city. It marked the breakup of the old "Southern aristocracy" in Wilmington.

Many of these Northerners were Radical Republicans who wanted to break up the plantation South and establish some semblance of equal treatment for Blacks.

During these early years of Reconstruction, the Ku Klux Klan made its first appearance in North Carolina in Wilmington, where it tried to halt the growing political power of Blacks. But as early as 1866, Blacks were elected to municipal offices and played a major role in the city government.

From 1867 to 1871, Wilmington elected a number of Black representatives to the State General Assembly. In July 1868, North Carolina was readmitted into the Union, and Black and white Republicans won control of the county government.

In 1870, six years before the Hayes-Tilden compromise that marked the end of Reconstruction, the balance of power in Wilmington began to swing in the opposite direction. North Carolina Democrats became notorious for their opposition to Black representation, earning themselves the reputation as the "slavemaster's party." But then the Republicans had never supported independent Black political power either.

Today, of course, both of these capitalist parties are quick to show they've never deviated from this "slavemaster" treatment of Blacks.

The Democrats held control of Wilmington from 1870 to 1890; but in 1890 Blacks made a political resurgence through the Republican Party.

They again won control of the city government. Blacks composed a majority of the county magistrates and sat on the Board of Aldermen, which administered the police and fire departments.

White racist Democrats became disturbed again over the fact of Black representation in Wilmington. On November 9, 1898, they made their move.

November 8, 1898, was election day in the state and Democrats regained control of the General Assembly. This victory emboldened local racists to attempt to reshuffle city affairs and put an end to Black representation. The next morning a thousand of them met at the courthouse. They were ready for trouble and pointed to a series of articles about the elections in a Black newspaper as an excuse to take action.

They ordered the editor to cease publication and be out of town in 24 hours. When there was no reply the next morning, they marched on the newspaper building. A group of armed Blacks had gathered to defend it. In the pitched battle that followed, the Blacks were brutally crushed.

This episode signaled the end of Black representation in Wilmington. But as the recent Chavis-Hicks frame-up trial shows, the struggle continues. Wilmington Blacks are still fighting to regain those rights they won some 100 years ago.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

JULY 20, 1973

Parliamentary illusions still strong

The elections in Northern Ireland

"The results of the election for a new Northern Ireland Assembly provide modest hopes for moving the bitterly divided province toward workable government and peace," the *New York Times* wrote in a July 2 editorial on the elections for the new local assembly in Northern Ireland. What inspired these "modest hopes" on the part of this organ of American imperialism was the relative success of the "moderate" bourgeois parties in the June 28 vote in the British imperialist enclave of Northern Ireland. "Altogether, the political forces willing to bury old differences and share power on a proportional basis across sectarian lines will control more than two-thirds of the seats in the 78-member Assembly."

The official Unionists, the section of the traditional proimperialist party that continues to operate more or less within the mainstream of British Tory politics, won 25 seats.

The alliance of demagogic reactionaries led by the Belfast government's former minister of the interior William Craig and the Bible-pounding preacher Ian Paisley won 18 seats. Both reactionary leaders favor more desperate and risky means of preserving the Protestant proimperialist ascendancy than the official party, but at present they advance different tactics. Craig threatens the British government with a Rhodesian-type declaration of independence if it continues to make concessions to the Catholics at the expense of the Protestant ascendancy. Paisley on the other hand sees the best way of maintaining the Protestant caste as total integration into Britain.

In addition to the official Unionists and the extremist bloc, seven independent Unionists were elected.

The Social Democratic and Labour party, an amalgamation of the old antipartitionist parties, including some modern Catholic bourgeois figures who won their reputations in the civil-rights movement, swept the nationalist vote, winning 19 seats. The Northern Ireland Labour party won one seat. The liberal Unionists of the Alliance party won eight.

The SDLP's share of the popular vote was 23% as against a total of 62% for all the right-wing Unionists. The Catholic, or nationalist, community represents somewhat more than a third of the Northern Irish population but has a higher percentage of youth under voting age.

Nonetheless, the vote totals indicate that the Alliance party, which was

created as an instrument for reconciling the Catholic and Protestant bourgeoisie within the framework of "modern Unionism," won the majority of its votes from Catholics.

Public opinion polls over the last few years have indicated that a section of the Catholic population was looking toward a solution to communal strife within the framework of union with Britain. This is the inevitable result of the pressure of imperialism and the powerful Protestant community on the nationalist minority and its weak, capitulationist bour-

to surrender to Unionism. The main prospects for leading the nationalist community into a reconciliation with British rule thus lie in a slow, careful sellout by the SDLP. The *New York Times* editorial put it in these terms:

"Everything now depends on the ability of the official Unionists and the S.D.L.P. to surmount traditional suspicions and collaborate on the 12-member Executive Council that will be organized from the Assembly to govern the province under British supervision. Though it won only eight seats, the interdenominational Alliance

isolated from the large majority of the oppressed population.

"What the election demonstrates above all is the overwhelming desire of a vast majority in Northern Ireland for an end to violence," the *New York Times* editorial said. "The turnout was an impressive 72 per cent. The drive of the militant I.R.A. Provisionals to get Catholics to spoil their ballots failed spectacularly. The Official I.R.A. entered 10 candidates and failed to elect a single one of them."

A large poll was favored by the new proportional representation system that encouraged Catholics to vote in Protestant areas where heretofore, being in such a small minority, they would not have bothered. However, the vote does indicate that the struggle in the North is in a defensive phase and that the overwhelming majority of the oppressed population are looking, at least for the moment, toward parliamentary solutions.

For example, the bourgeois political leadership of the nationalist community, which had been severely shaken by the rise of the civil-rights movement and had come within inches of being irreparably thrown off balance by the crisis that flared in the summer of 1971 and reached its culmination in January-February 1972, has re-consolidated itself in a renovated Catholic communalist party.

In this context, the Officials' decision to run candidates seems to have been proved correct. Running revolutionary candidates in bourgeois elections offers the opportunity to educate and consolidate a body of activists and train them in the methods of reaching out to entire communities. In particular, their participating in the Northern Ireland elections will make repression of the Officials more difficult for the regime, which needs in this stage to hold out the prospect of greater political democracy to the oppressed community.

The 2 percent of the popular vote reportedly won by the Official candidates reflects the fact that the "Marxist IRA" does not as yet have a mass political following among any major section of the Irish population. The strong presence of the Officials in a few scattered neighborhoods, as well as the historic reputation of the IRA, has tended to obscure this reality.

The Official republican movement is essentially a small, left, propaganda party. The extent that it will be able to consolidate gains from its electoral campaigns depends on its assessing its real position very clearly.

In any case, the three electoral campaigns run by the Officials in this spring and early summer represent an important attempt by an experienced cadre of revolutionary-minded activists to build an effective political leadership for the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland. □



The other side of British attempts to stabilize Northern Ireland through the elections is the continued use of repression.

geoisie. Pressures for "reconciliation" are weaker in the dominant community.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of the Catholic community voted for the SDLP, which although a bourgeois party is identified with rejection of the partition, indicates that the nationalist-minded people are not ready

party will make its own positive contribution to the coalition as well as help to build bridges between the two large sectarian forces."

However, if the election results did not show that the nationalist community is quite ready for "peace at any price," they did indicate that the militant anti-imperialists have become

Denmark

20,000 march against NATO

Copenhagen

While the Danish government was hosting the Council of Ministers of NATO, which held its semiannual meeting here June 14-15, thirty-four organizations that had formed a United Committee Against NATO staged a counterconference.

The conference was organized under the slogan "Fight NATO—A Tool for Imperialism." It included speeches by a long list of persons from NATO countries, as well as representatives of African liberation movements, who presented information exposing the undemocratic and militaristic designs of NATO. The many presentations were intended to offset the words of praise for NATO that emanated from the ministers' meeting, where representatives from the worst dictatorships sat side by side and where the concerns of the masses were not on the agenda.

Daniel Saul Bonze, representing FRELIMO [Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front], called for support to the continuing struggle against Portugal.

Although NATO supplies to Portugal are officially supposed to be used only in Europe, for lack of a war in Europe they are used in Africa. "In our day-to-day struggle," said Bonze, "we have taken weapons that were not produced in Portugal."

The head of the Icelandic People's Alliance, Thor Vigfusson, said that the probability that the Americans and NATO will have to get out of Iceland is greater now than ever before. "With the cold war, even the Conservatives have had their eyes opened up to the iron grip the Americans have on Iceland," he noted.

The counterconference concluded with a militant anti-NATO demonstration of 15,000 to 20,000 persons, who wound through the streets of Copenhagen, chanting "Denmark Out of NATO!" The march ended up at Bella-Centret, where the NATO ministers, protected by a thousand policemen, were holding their meeting. None of the demonstrators let themselves be provoked by the police, and the bourgeois press's dire predictions of splits among the participating groups

were exposed. The more than thirty groups that took part rebuffed all rumors about splits and made the demonstration into a strong and disciplined show of opposition to NATO.

The Danish speakers at the demonstration were Erik Sigsgaard of the Left Socialists, Gert Petersen of the Socialist People's party, union leader Vagn Damgaard, Hans Paulstrom from the Faroe Islands, and Niels Enevoldsen of the Social Democratic Youth. Enevoldsen provided proof that NATO materiel is used in the Portuguese colonies. "It is claimed that NATO weapons are not used in Africa; yet I have proof here that, among other things, deliveries of planes from West Germany to Portugal are being made," he said, holding up a piece of a plane shot down in March by the liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau. The piece of wreckage, which has both West German and French production markings on it, is to be turned over to Danish Foreign Minister K. B. Andersen.

Foreign speakers were Stasis Rigas, of the Greek antidictatorship commit-

tee; Mario Fernandez, a Portuguesed deserter living in Denmark; Bob Purdie, a leading member of the Anti-Imperialism League, the British Irish solidarity organization and a member of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International; and Vigfusson.

"This spring we were attacked," Vigfusson said. "Who is it that is attacking us? It is our NATO ally Great Britain. But don't we have NATO



United Committee Against NATO button says, 'Fight NATO—A Tool for Imperialism.'

troops in Iceland to defend us? Sure, but the American troops are not lifting a finger. Therefore, I ask, what should we do with the American army?" To thunderous applause, Vigfusson added: "Get them out!" □

Signs of a Mao-Marcos detente in the Philippines

Manila

In February 1972, just prior to Nixon's China trip, President Marcos dispatched his brother-in-law, Kokoy Romualdez, to Peking. The emissary met privately with Chou En-lai and returned to the Philippines in a shroud of silence that was assumed to have meant a rebuff by Peking.

Marcos, who has since installed himself as dictator, has now given the first public account of the Romualdez mission, including the report that "Peking admitted that certain 'Lin Piao elements' were training cadre for Philippine rebel movements." But Marcos added he was "satisfied with Prime Minister Chou En-lai's assurances that this would not continue." (*Philippines Sunday Express*, May 27, 1973.)

If Marcos is telling the truth, the implications are plain. If Chou was willing to repudiate the token training of a few Filipino radicals even before the Nixon visit, how far will the Chinese bureaucrats be willing to go now that the Nixon-Mao detente has been sealed and now that there are prospects of new trade deals with the U.S.'s far eastern banana republic?

Will the Philippine New People's Army (NPA), which in early 1971 named its guerrilla training site after Lin Piao, be dismissed as ultraleft and adventurist? Will pressure be applied to the NPA not to embarrass the bureaucrats in their accommodation with Marcos? After Peking's betrayal of the Vietnamese in the face of Nixon's murderous onslaught, the Philippine struggle must seem small potatoes.

Three points indicate that Marcos is not distorting Chou's words.

First, refusal to support revolutionary struggles in Ceylon, Bangladesh, etc., has been a conspicuous part of Chinese foreign policy since the beginning of 1971.

Second, the announcement by Marcos of Chou's "assurances" coincides with the approval of two large export sales to China: over 9 million pesos worth of coconut oil and 14 million pesos worth of buri fiber, the latter being the largest single transaction ever recorded in that commodity.

Third, the announcement represents a retreat for Marcos from his previous verbal intransigence toward Peking. It amounts to a reversal of previous hostile statements indicating

China as the source of foreign support for Philippine radicals.

In the text of his martial-law proclamation on September 21, 1972, Marcos gave primary emphasis to "elements . . . enjoying the active moral and material support of a foreign power . . . and whose . . . precepts are based on the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist teachings and beliefs" as the reason he was taking over as dictator.

Now, Marcos concedes that seven months previously he was already "satisfied" with Chou's "assurances" that such support had been discontinued. The willingness to abandon the main propaganda justification for martial law indicates that Marcos expects a ripening friendship with the Chinese leaders. □

Exxon helps Portugal in Guinea-Bissau

Opponents of U.S. complicity with Portuguese colonialism have launched a nationwide boycott against Gulf Oil. This boycott has centered on the fact that Gulf's operations in Cabinda Province in Angola are used to supply and to finance the Portuguese colonial war in Angola.

The May 28-June 10 issue of *Afrique-Asie*—an Afro-Asian magazine published in Paris—carries reports of a similar deal, this time between Exxon and the Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau is a small West African colony of Portugal where the liberation

struggle launched in the mid-1960s by the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde—African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) has succeeded in freeing more than two-thirds of the country.

Aquino de Bragança reports in *Afrique-Asie* that "the Portuguese government has just concluded a new agreement with Exxon Corporation (formerly Standard Oil of New Jersey) that gives the American 'giant' the exclusive exploration rights in Guinea-Bissau."

De Bragança reports that the accord renewed and extended a concession granted to the Rockefeller-owned trust in 1958. Under this accord, Exxon is granted rights to the whole of Guinea-Bissau. This means, as de Bragança points out, "the small part of the territory still occupied by the Portuguese and the two-thirds of the country liberated by the PAIGC."

Like Gulf's agreement in Angola, Exxon's agreement in Guinea-Bissau includes payment of a huge subsidy to the Portuguese government. This money will help finance the Portuguese

war against PAIGC, and incidentally, help to protect Exxon's potential oil operations. Starting with the signing of the contract, Exxon will turn over \$240,000 each year as a base fee to the colonial administration.

Another colonial agency is to receive roughly \$50,000 a year. Exxon will also turn over between \$14 and \$60 per square kilometer explored, a tax of 12.5 percent on production, and "50 percent of the profits realized" to the Portuguese colonialists.

It would not be surprising if Exxon were to follow Gulf's example and provide "voluntary" funds to help Portugal's "security forces" fight the Guinean people. This deal is yet another example of the complicity of U.S. imperialism with colonialism in Africa. □

World news notes

Prison rebellions sweep Argentina

Since President Héctor Cámpora took office May 25, Argentina has been swept by at least eleven prison riots. The rebellions, by common prisoners, have raised a number of demands, among them the removal of officials, commutation of sentences, release from prison, improvements in prison food, relaxation of discipline inside the prisons.

The government decided in mid-June to commute the sentences of common prisoners in an effort to quell the rebellions. As a result, some 800 prisoners have reportedly been freed. The prison rebellions, however, have not subsided.

United Press International reported, in a dispatch published in the July 5 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Dairio-La Prensa*, that the fourth new rebellion within twenty-four hours had broken out.

The rebellions have affected prisons not only in the capital, but in other cities as well, among them Rosario, Santa Rosa, and Salta. "The demands of the prisoners throughout the entire country," reported UPI, "include measures that will tend to alleviate their situation, mainly as regards trial procedures and various improvements in prison conditions." The prisoners are also demanding that the commutation of sentences be implemented.

On June 29, prisoners in Villa Devoto Prison in Buenos Aires went on a hunger strike, demanding ratification of a special law releasing prisoners. Some threatened to set fire to themselves if their demand was not met.

"The atmosphere of tension grew sharper last night," reported the July 4 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, "especially among the groups of relatives that have taken to standing around in the vicinity of the Villa Devoto Prison."

A number of prisoners had to be hospitalized as a result of the hunger strike.

In Santa Rosa, in La Pampa Province, where prisoners are demanding the immediate removal of prison officials, six guards were taken hostage. "The conflict was going peacefully as this edition went to press," *La Opinión* said. "The governor of La Pampa, Aquiles Regazzoli, ordered the release of eighteen prisoners whose terms of confinement allowed them to leave the prison. The prisoners, for their part, sent the authorities a list of other inmates whom they wanted to see freed."

By July 5, Argentine authorities had decided to crack down. According to a UPI report in the July 6 *El Diario*, "two prisoners died and dozens of others were wounded and injured" during the repression. Officials said that the two dead men were inmates in a neuropsychiatric hospital who drank ethyl alcohol they had obtained during the riot there.

Japanese cabinet sets 'soothing example'

On June 24, the Japanese Health Ministry announced sharply restricted limits for safe consumption of seafood. Since then, Japan's fishing industry—the second largest in the world after Peru's—has been in an uproar, and sales of fish have declined drastically.

The government action came as a result of new discoveries of cadmium, arsenic, copper, mercury, and polychlorinated biphenyl contamination of fish. Pollution-caused diseases have resulted in about 300 deaths and another 9,000 serious illnesses, according to official statistics.

The pollution comes from industrial waste dumped into the ocean by Japanese companies. Three major chemical companies have been ordered to pay a total of nearly \$5 million to 733 victims of water pollution. In the most publicized case, the Chisso Corporation was forced last March, after 17 years of litigation, to pay about \$3.6 million to victims of mercury poisoning. The total number of people known to have been poisoned is 428, including 69 who died.

On July 7, fishermen dumped five tons of fresh sardines in front of the main gate of the Chisso complex in Minamata. The action was organized to protest the company's failure to reply to the fisherman's demand for \$5.2 million compensation for losses caused by mercury contamination of fish.

The Minamata demonstration followed a 1,500-boat blockade of Mizushima harbor June 26, which forced four chemical companies there to suspend operations until they agree with fishermen on compensation and safeguards. A similar action was held at the port of Omuta, which was picketed by 100 boats.

In the meantime, Robert Trumbull reports in the July 4 *New York Times* that "Premier Kakuei Tanaka ordered his Cabinet colleagues to lunch on seafood every day . . . as a soothing example to ordinary people."

Tripped on their own rhetoric

The Australian followers of the Socialist Labour League, the sectarian British group led by Gerry Healy, have produced what is undoubtedly the most original analysis yet of the Watergate scandal. The May 4 issue of their paper carried the following information:

"But whether Nixon holds on to the reins of power or not, both the Democrats and the Republicans will be vying with each other to provide the new legislation necessary for stepped up trade war and mounting attacks on the American ruling class."

African Liberation Day rally in Britain

London

Some 250 Blacks packed Brixton Town Hall here on Africa Liberation Day, May 25, for a rally called by the Africa Liberation Committee in solidarity with the liberation struggles of the peoples of southern Africa. Speaking to the rally were representatives of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Communist party of the Sudan.

Zola Zembe of the ANC urged Black people in Britain to get interested in the struggles of Black people in Africa. "It's about time," he said, "that Black people all over the world knew they came from Africa." Zembe stressed that the people of South Africa were not fighting simply for their own interests but for the liberation of Black people everywhere. Zembe drew attention to the wave of strikes sweeping through South Africa to protest the starvation-level wages received by African workers in South Africa. These struggles, along with those of the students and the inhabitants of the rural bantustans, are increasingly threatening the racist white regime.

Ignatius Chigwendere of ZANU described the long struggle of the Zimbabwean people for independence—

from the wars of the 1890s against the colonial invasions to the present struggle against the Smith regime. Chigwendere reported that rural guerrilla resistance to the Smith regime is now so widespread that the regime is attempting to forcefully move thousands of Africans to government-guarded villages.

The size and enthusiasm of the rally reflect the deepening interest in Africa and identification with its struggle for freedom by the Black community in Britain. The Africa Liberation Committee is planning to expand its work. In particular, there is growing opposition to the British government's plans to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the alliance between Britain and Portugal and the proposed visit to Britain by Portuguese Prime Minister Marcello Caetano in July.

The Africa Liberation Committee, along with many other organizations, has joined the End the Alliance Campaign, which is demanding that the British government end its collaboration with Portugal's colonial wars, and is planning a massive national demonstration in London on July 15, the day before the scheduled start of Caetano's visit. □

Blacks in London protest police assault

London

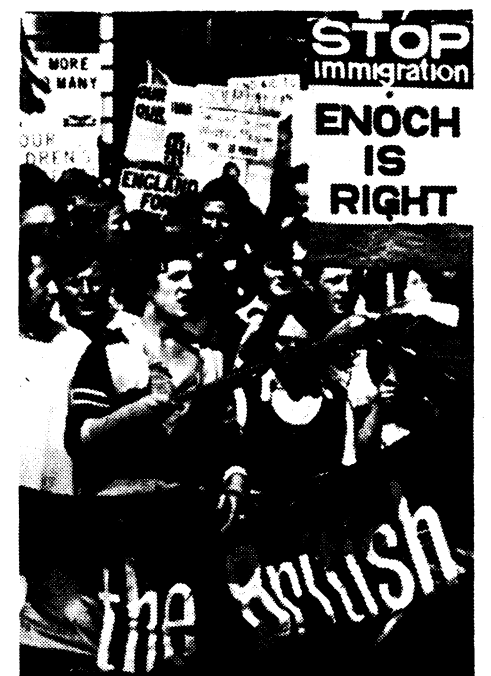
More than 250 persons, mainly from the local Black community and from socialist groups, demonstrated in Brixton, South London, June 23. They protested the continuing harassment of Black youth, in particular the arrests a fortnight previously of three young Blacks after a street fight in which 200 youths battled the police.

The main slogans of the demonstration were: "Free, free, the Brockwell three," "What do we want—Justice; What do we get—Brixton," and "Hands off Black people."

The street battle was the culmination of a long period of harassment of the Black community in Brixton—referred to as the Harlem of London. The premises of local Black organisations, shops, and restaurants have been firebombed. Black youths have been subject to intimidation and arbitrary arrest; each week around 100 Black youths appear before the local courts on charges such as "loitering" and "suspicious behaviour."

The arrests followed an assault by 100 police armed with truncheons and iron bars on Black and white youths attending a local fair. One of those arrested was a 14-year-old schoolboy who was held ten hours in police cells, during which time his parents were denied access to him. He was later charged with causing bodily harm to three policemen!

The local teachers union protested the action of the police and urged its members to attend the demonstration. They also are projecting a local conference on racism and education in response to these recent events.



Racists protest immigration in London

The march ended in an open-air rally chaired by Sister Beverley of the Black Workers Movement. Spokespersons for the International Marxist Group [British section of the Fourth International], Communist party, and other left groups outlined the growth of repression and stressed the need for the Black community to take their campaign into the Labour movement. The Black Unity and Freedom party and the Black Workers Movement detailed the brutalisation of their community by the police and called for the exclusion of the police Special Patrol Group from the Black community. □

Demands raised for control of distribution

Workers struggle hits Chilean toothpaste industry

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

JUNE 14 — One of the products in shortest supply in Chile at the moment is toothpaste. It is almost impossible to find it except on the black market. One of the recent labor conflicts in Santiago was caused by the struggle of the workers against this state of affairs.

"GEKA Laboratories" is the company that makes the most popular toothpaste in Chile. The bosses of this company had distinguished themselves by repeatedly failing to live up to contract agreements. Among other things, they did not provide the agreed-upon uniforms. As for wage raises, they violated agreements and in a discriminatory fashion raised only those of their informers and stooges.

But the bosses of this company were not satisfied with exploiting their own workers. They attempted to suck blood from the people as a whole. They urged their workers to stage a public demonstration in the streets clamoring for *an increase in the price of toothpaste!* This was not a utopian hope on their part, for bosses in various countries have succeeded in getting their workers to take such action in connection with offers of wage increases. This time, however, the GEKA bosses were mistaken. They found themselves up against the highly developed class consciousness of the workers, who told them that to do such a thing would be as crazy as to take to the streets shouting "We want an increase in the price of bread and milk!"

But this was not all the workers did in defense of the interests of the consumer. The workers who made the truck deliveries of toothpaste to the pharmacies agreed to inform the neighbors in the vicinity of each pharmacy of the deliveries.

The boss had had the labels removed from the boxes so the public would not be able to identify the toothpaste. The workers resorted to many different ploys to frustrate the boss's efforts to keep it a secret. They would enter a pharmacy full of customers with the boxes open so people could



Hoarding of goods by businessmen for sale on black market . . .

see what they contained. When they were not allowed to do this, they would "stumble" so that the tubes of toothpaste would be out in the open for everyone to see. On other occasions, they would ask the pharmacist in a loud voice what product was being delivered. Lastly, they would tell the neighbors directly about the arrival of the toothpaste.

Everyone knows that the reason the pharmacists and the bosses were angry about all this is their efforts to send all of the product onto the black market.

The laboratory owners began a campaign against the delivery men. They took them off their jobs and sent them to carry out very boring tasks, generally isolated from the rest of the workers and under the close watch of a supervisor who took it upon himself to make life miserable for them. This kind of repression was first applied to one worker, Roberto Pizarro, and then extended to others. Finally, a supervisor attacked the worker Orlando Ramirez, and when Ramirez complained, he was fired.

This was the last straw for the GEKA workers (most of whom are women), who had already been hit with the imprisonment of two of their

compañeras, slandered as having stolen two (!) tubes of toothpaste.

The workers, and some of the white-collar employees, went on strike. They asked that contracts be observed, that those who had been fired be rehired, and that the all-powerful supervisors be punished. But the demand that stood out most was the following: "We demand an investigation into where our products are sent and the way in which the taxes are paid. . . . We demand the immediate formation of bodies that allow the participation of the workers in the distribution of our products and in the acquisition of raw materials."

The complaints of the GEKA workers against government officials should be pointed out. The work inspector Emilio Loyola called Maria Eugenia Farias, the president of the union, "crazy" for consistently defending the rights of her compañeros. The strike manifesto stated: "Our concern as workers has always been to keep a lookout for and to expose the whole



. . . results in shortages and long lines for consumers.

gamut of irregularities that have existed, and that exist, in regard to the distribution of our products; we have demonstrated this concern in repeated reports to DIRINCO [Dirección de Industria y Comercio—Industry and Trade Office] and the Oficina de Delitos Tributarios [Office of Tax Violations] without yet seeing any solution to the problem of the undersupply of Odontine paste."

From the very first day of the strike, the GEKA workers received support from the Vicuña Mackena Industrial Cordón. Despite the cordón's organizational weaknesses, it was able to see to it that there were always compañeros from other factories on the scene in the tents set up by the GEKA union in the entrance to the laboratory. This, and the public demonstration carried out by the cordón, served to counteract the provocations of the right and pro-boss elements—stooges who first took over the factory to prevent the workers from occupying it, and who then, after leaving through the windows because of the lack of water, settled down on the facing sidewalk and engaged in provocations against the workers. One night, cars belonging to Patria y Libertad

[Fatherland and Freedom, a far-right group] drove past throughout the whole night in an effort to intimidate the workers.

Nevertheless, neither the provocations, nor the maneuvers of the pro-boss judges, nor the attitude of the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—Workers Central Union] and the Popular Unity government leadership of putting a brake on struggles, nor the hunger and cold endured by the workers in the flimsy and simple tents were enough to force the workers, the GEKA production workers, and the few white-collar workers who joined them, to give up.

Although at first the workers demanded only the points already mentioned, when they saw the hostile attitude of the bosses and the results of a deal that was agreed to by the workers in the Vitorino shoe factory, they decided to demand that the plant be transferred to the Social Sector of the economy, that is, to state ownership. At Vitorino, the bosses had just agreed to provide a heaven on earth for the workers so that work could be resumed; yet they ended up firing all but seven of their workers. The GEKA workers saw through the sweet promises finally made by their bosses, and rejected them.

Finally, through DIRINCO the government found itself obliged to requisition the laboratories and name an interventor. The Communist party and its economics minister, Orlando Millas, opposed this "take-over" (which was in reality only a blocking of the gates); yet they were forced to give in by the pressure of the working class and the GEKA workers. In an irony of the class struggle, the workers were led by a rank-and-file CP activist, a courageous twenty-eight-year-old woman who placed the interests of her class above the interests of her party.

The final resolution adopted by the general assembly of the GEKA workers union was:

"1. Bring into operation as soon as possible all bodies of workers participation—an administrative committee, a coordinating committee, production committees, and committees for defense and protection.

"2. Change administrative structures: strict control over planning and distribution; a large percentage of the goods produced must go directly to the people, for the present via the Monserrat Store (a people's store planned by the Vicuña Mackena Cordón). In the future, all of the goods that are produced must go directly to the people via people's stores.

"3. End wage and salary discrimination.

"4. Open all the books.

"5. A common dining hall. At present there are four—one each for office workers, professional workers, production workers, and bosses. . . ."

It is clear that the struggle has not ended, not even on the level of this particular factory. A new stage is beginning, one of struggle against the state bureaucracy, of struggle for workers management. In order to wage this struggle, the workers will have to recognize the fraudulent nature of so-called participation. □

Intercontinental Press

THE COMING CONFRONTATION

Where is Allende taking Chile? When the chips are down, where will the military stand? What are the organizations of the workers, peasants, and the left doing? What are their programs? What are the perspectives facing the Chilean people?

For the answers read *Intercontinental Press*, the only English-language weekly magazine that specializes on news and analysis of revolutionary struggles from Canada to Chile and all around the world.

Intercontinental Press: A socialist antidote to the lies of the capitalist media.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

() Enclosed is \$7.50 for six months.

() Enclosed is \$15 for one year.

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

Puerto Ricans protest U.S. 'superport'

By DOUG JENNESS

Thousands of demonstrators rallied in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico, July 4 to protest plans to build a deep-water port there to service U.S. supertankers. The demonstration was cosponsored by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP).

According to the July 8 *Claridad*, biweekly newspaper of the PSP, several of the speakers were victims of contamination created by U.S. petrochemical plants in different Puerto Rican cities. Also among the speakers were Juan Mari Bras, PSP general secretary, and Ruben Berrios, PIP president.

The proposal to build a "superport" in Aguadilla, a small town on Puerto Rico's west coast, has generated great controversy throughout the island. Columns in major dailies as well as

in the radical publications are taking up the issue from a number of different points of view.

Those who oppose the superport argue it will destroy beautiful beaches and potential fishing waters. Eventually, they charge, it will undermine the ecology of the island and the health and well-being of the Puerto Rican people.

In the first place, they point out, the huge tankers spill great quantities of oil when they unload their cargo. Second, it is almost certain that oil refineries and petrochemical plants would be built near the port, which would lead to even more serious pollution problems.

Supporters of the superport say it will provide more jobs in a country where 30 percent are unemployed. Opponents argue that this is not so, that

the oil refineries and petrochemical plants built so far have created only a fraction of the jobs promised.

They argue that there are less socially destructive ways of developing Puerto Rico and creating more jobs. But these ways are not tailored to the needs of the Yankee dollar.

It is ironic that while thousands of Puerto Ricans were demonstrating in Aguadilla for the rights and needs of Puerto Ricans against U.S. colonialism, the liberal governor of Puerto Rico marched in a parade in the same city on the same day to commemorate U.S. independence.

According to the July 5 issue of the San Juan daily *El Mundo*, he was joined by about 7,000 to 10,000 marchers, including contingents from Lions Clubs, Rotary Clubs, bands, orchestras, and the Civil Defense.



Thousands demonstrated July 4 in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico, against U.S. construction of deep-water port.

N.Y. District 1 under attack from Shanker

By REBECCA FINCH

NEW YORK, July 9—In a paid column in the July 8 *New York Times*, Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, launched the opening attack in a campaign to fire Luis Fuentes, the pro-community-control superintendent of District 1 schools in the Lower East Side.

Referring to the results of the school board election on May 1, Shanker wrote, "Luis Fuentes and his supporters have loudly proclaimed their advocacy of total community control. . . . The community has spoken. It has passed judgment on Fuentes, held him accountable, and is asserting its right to fire him."

Shanker neglected to point out, of course, that large numbers of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents were denied their right to vote in the election. Children of these parents constitute the overwhelming majority of students in this district.

Shanker's comments coincide with a series of moves by the new school

board, now dominated 6 to 3 by anti-community-control members, to begin chiseling away at the gains that were won last year under the old board, which had a pro-community-control majority.

In its first executive session July 2, the six new members voted to fire the executive secretary to the board, Azalia Torres, a Puerto Rican; dismantle the newspaper *Write On* (a pro-community-control paper published by the District 1 office since Fuentes was hired) and to fire its Chinese editor, Helen Sam Toy; and to move the district office from the center of the Puerto Rican community to a white neighborhood at the edge of the district. This last move has sparked the greatest objections from the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents.

A vigorous campaign to defend the gains won in the last year has been mapped out by the Coalition for Education in District 1, an organization of parents, teachers, paraprofessionals, and activists supporting commu-



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Community-control supporters have set plans to defend District 1 gains.

nity control. The coalition is building a rally and demonstration for the evening of the first regular meeting of the new board, July 19.

The old board had conducted its meetings in both Spanish and English and had established the tradition of an open agenda, which allowed the community to voice its concerns and grievances. Thus, the board meetings had become a place where struggles around the concrete issues took place.

These included the hiring and firing of school principals, the development of special bilingual and Black studies programs, and the development of preferential hiring policies for Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese.

The rally and demonstration on July 19 will focus on the central demand that the District 1 office remain in the Puerto Rican community. It will also defend the school personnel threatened with the loss of their jobs because of their support to community control and Fuentes.

Attica hearings open, cop terror reigns

By BAXTER SMITH

JULY 5—Six months after indictments were handed down naming 59 men for their alleged role in the September 1971 Attica prison revolt, pretrial hearings began June 18 in Buffalo, N.Y. Had more than the six months passed, the defense would have had a strong argument for dismissing the case for violation of the "speedy trial" provision of New York law.

The charges range from possession of contraband to murder.

The hearings opened to a courtroom scene of cop terror and judicial procedure mocking any semblance of justice.

According to the Attica Defense Committee, "All persons seeking to enter the courtroom except prosecuting attorneys and staff are required to show identification and submit to humiliating searches. . . . Despite the extensive searches 12 enforcement officers are in the courtroom at all times. Three marshals stand immediately behind any Brother appearing before the bench."

One of the first motions filed was a reapplication for change of venue. The defense hopes to move the trials to New York City, where most defendants live and where significant support could be organized. The state appellate court had moved the trials from

rural Wyoming County, where Attica is located, to Buffalo. Presiding Judge Carmen Ball denied the new motion. Defense lawyers plan to appeal the ruling.

The defense was granted two motions. One allows the defendants to meet in prison to discuss the case. Another gives them until July 16, the next court date, to file additional motions and obtain lawyers for those who have none.

With one exception, Ball denied all requests to allow out-of-state lawyers to represent the defendants. The exception is Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general, who will defend Charles Parnasilice, accused of murdering a guard.

The lengths to which the state will go to intimidate the defendants and their supporters is illustrated by several incidents that occurred during the hearings.

Shortly after one of the defendants, Carl Jones-El, was escorted from the courtroom following his appearance, he was heard shouting, "Don, Don!" Attorney Don Jelinek rushed to his aid and brought Jones-El, who had been beaten, back into the courtroom. Jones-El stated he had been assaulted by guards and had a witness.

Jelinek asked Judge Ball for an im-

mediate hearing. Ball denied it and adjourned the court. Later, as guards tried to take Jones-El away from a conference with his lawyers, a brief scuffle broke out. As a result, a lawyer and a legal assistant were charged with "obstructing justice."

In another incident, James Moore, one of the defendants who is free on bail, was denied entry to the courtroom because he was wearing Muslim headgear. When he protested this treatment, he too was arrested on charges of "obstruction."

The grand jury that indicted the 59 men is still meeting, and new indictments are expected. This has made it difficult for defense attorneys to round up possible witnesses, because

they fear retaliation in the form of an indictment.

Recently Judge Ball ordered a Buffalo newsman, Stewart Dan, to appear before the grand jury and testify about what he saw in Attica during the rebellion. Dan had previously refused to appear, but when Ball threatened him with a 30-day sentence, he agreed to testify.

New support was lent to the defendants' cause by a report of a congressional committee released in June. The House Select Committee on Crime corroborated the McKay Commission report and charged law enforcement officers and state officials with the major blame for the 43 deaths during the Attica revolt.



Attica prisoners during 1971 prison revolt

WATERGATE: 'Dirty tricks'

Raza Unida denies Republican funding, Peace and Freedom defends 'tactic'

By CINDY JAQUITH

JULY 5—Raza Unida Party (RUP) leaders have denounced a smear attack by the *New York Times*, which claims that RUP election campaigns have been funded by the Republican Party.

The charge appeared in a July 1 story by *Times* Los Angeles correspondent Steven Roberts. Roberts said that the Republican Party channeled money to both the Raza Unida parties (Chicano parties that run candidates independent of the Democrats and Republicans) and to the California Peace and Freedom Party (PFP).

The PFP is a loose coalition of liberal Democrats and radicals that was formed in 1968. In 1972, it joined with electoral groupings in a few other states to back the presidential campaign of Dr. Benjamin Spock.

The *Times* article quoted Eric Garis, a PFP candidate in Southern California in 1972, who admitted that his party took Republican money to finance its campaigns. The Republicans were willing to give a little money to the PFP candidates in races where they might drain enough votes from the Democrats to produce a Republican victory.

The *Times* went on to assert that RUP candidates also took GOP funds. "A well-informed source at Republican headquarters here [Los Angeles] said it, was 'taken for granted' that La Raza received G. O. P. help in its petition drives to qualify independent candidates."

However, the *Times* was unable to cite any facts to back up this charge. The only RUP leader quoted in the article, Raul Ruiz, denied the charge.

In 1971, Ruiz was the RUP candidate in the 48th Assembly District

in Los Angeles. His campaign, which won nearly 8 percent of the vote, drew so many votes away from the Democratic candidate that the Republican won.

Contacted by phone about the *Times* story, Ruiz told *The Militant* he thought it very likely that the Democrats had started this slander. Because RUP's independent campaigns are winning Chicanos away from the Democrats, he explained, "they will begin to try to discredit that loss by



Militant/Priscilla March

Raza Unida Party demonstration in Los Angeles against Democrat Richard Alatorre during his 1971 race in 48th Assembly District. Democrats have tried to discredit RUP's opposition to both capitalist parties.

saying that we are receiving this sort of help from the Republicans, when in fact this is not true."

Ruiz also denied the charge that Republicans had assisted RUP in getting on the ballot in Los Angeles. "No way," he answered. "That was all our effort, that's for sure."

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, a leader of the Colorado Raza Unida Party and the Denver Crusade for Justice,

told *The Militant*, "We don't wheel and deal with our own people, let alone someone else."

Asked who he thought was the source of the *Times* story, Gonzales said, "The Democrats would want a story like that to get out."

Viviana Santiago, secretary of the Zavala County, Texas, RUP, told *The Militant* that the charges in the *Times* were very similar to accusations George McGovern made against RUP in 1972. McGovern tried to discredit

Govern supporters insisted that by running on an independent ticket, she was only helping Nixon to win. Their false claim that McGovern was a "less-evil" than Nixon "was used to keep people trapped inside the racist, sexist Democratic Party, instead of challenging the capitalist candidates," Jenness said.

She called it "absurd" to think that the Republicans have any interest in promoting a party that urges working people to break from capitalist politics.

Peace and Freedom Party leaders, however, have defended their use of Republican money. The July 4 *New York Times* quoted longtime PFP activist John Haag as confirming that the PFP had accepted GOP funds.

And in a phone interview with *The Militant*, former PFP candidate Marge Buckley expressed the view that "as long as in fact there were no strings attached, there was no problem."

Lew McCammon, Los Angeles County chairman of PFP in 1972, also tried to justify taking Republican money. He told *The Militant* there was no other way to pay the excessive filing fees to place PFP candidates on the ballot.

"I disagree that taking money from the Republican Party is a tactical question," Jenness said. "You can never build a party to challenge the political stranglehold of the two capitalist parties by relying on them to fund you. Unlike PFP, the Socialist Workers Party puts forward a socialist program, based on supporting the interests of the working class against the capitalist class. The Republican Party, just like the Democratic Party, has no interest in promoting this point of view."

'Dirty tricks' played against YSA, SWP

By CINDY JAQUITH

JULY 9—New Watergate disclosures have uncovered "dirty tricks" by the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP) involving the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

In the July 9 *New York Times*, an article by John Crewdson describes the spy network CREEP set up to sabotage the campaigns of other candidates in the 1972 presidential elections. "The secret operations at their height embraced a widely scattered and sometimes disorganized network of amateurs who engaged in political pranks as well as more serious, and even violent, activities," Crewdson writes. H. R. Haldeman, former White House chief of staff, formally approved this "black advance" program, according to the *Times*, and ex-presidential counsel Charles Colson masterminded many of the actual "tricks."

A former Nixon campaign aide related one of Colson's plots to Crewdson. This particular scheme called for CREEP to arrange a donation of \$200 to the campaign of Congressman Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.). McCloskey was at that time campaigning in New Hampshire for the Republican presidential nomination.

"According to the official, the contribution was to be made in the name of the Gay Liberation Front, a militant homosexual organization, and a receipt for the money was to be forwarded to William Loeb, the pub-

lisher of the pro-Nixon Manchester, N. H., *Union Leader*," reports Crewdson.

"Mr. [Herbert] Porter dispatched Roger Stone, a young aide, to New Hampshire with the money, the official said, but when the young man walked into the McCloskey headquarters he balked at identifying himself as a homosexual, and said instead that he was from the Young Socialist Alliance, a Marxist organization."

Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, issued a statement today in response to the *Times* disclosure. Pulley was the Socialist Workers Party 1972 vice-presidential candidate.

"This attempt to discredit McCloskey by falsely linking him to the gay liberation struggle and the revolutionary-socialist movement is not surprising," Pulley said. "Red-baiting and gay-baiting are methods traditionally used by Republicans and Democrats alike to smear opponents. These types of charges were one of the main features of the McCarthyite witch-hunt of the 1950s, through which Nixon built his career in national politics."

"CREEP apparently hoped to kill two birds with one stone," Pulley continued. "Their main goal was to undercut the campaign of McCloskey, who was speaking out against the war in Vietnam."

"But in the process, they also thought they could discredit and create confusion about the Young Socialist Al-

liance, which was backing the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1972. Had the bogus contribution to McCloskey's campaign become public, however, I think it would have backfired on them. The YSA has a reputation in the student movement as a revolutionary youth organization that takes a principled stand against support to the candidates of either capitalist party."

As it turned out, Loeb's *Union Leader* never picked up on the phony "YSA" contribution, although CREEP sent a receipt for the money to the newspaper.

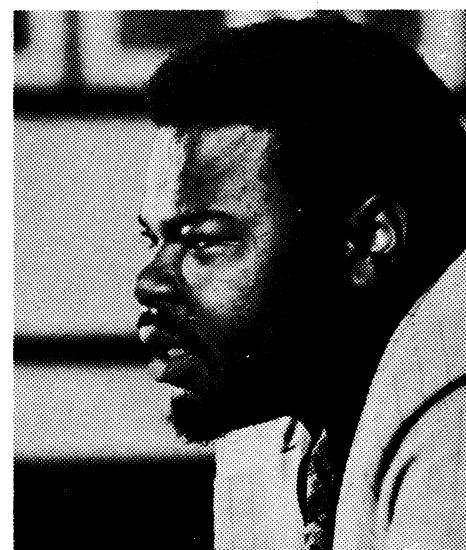
However, this incident sheds light on another event during the 1972 New Hampshire primary involving Loeb and supporters of the SWP campaign. This time it was an attempt to link socialists to the campaign of Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), who was then running for the Democratic presidential nomination.

An editorial in the March 3, 1972, *Union Leader* attacked Muskie for supporting the April 24, 1971, mass antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C., and falsely claimed that the protest was "dominated" by the Socialist Workers Party. The editorial cited a letter about the antiwar action that Muskie had sent to Don Gurewitz, who was then the national secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee, a major sponsor of the demonstration.

At the time of Loeb's editorial, Gurewitz was the SWP candidate for U. S. Senate from Massachusetts. "Is he

[Gurewitz] in any way involved in the Muskie presidential campaign?" the editorial asked. "Is he one of these campaign contributors concerning whose identity Mr. Muskie has been so secretive? . . . the voters of New Hampshire have a right to know more about Mr. Donald Gurewitz and the senator's relationship with him."

While the Muskie campaign committee refused to respond to this smear attack, the SWP denounced the editorial. Gurewitz issued a statement calling the charges "ridiculous to the core." He condemned Loeb's attempt to portray the antiwar movement as "dupes of the 'communists.'"



Militant/Howard Petrick

PULLEY: Hits CREEP's red-baiting and gay-baiting.

Mitchell fails to bail Nixon out of W'gate

JULY 11—There is no escape from Watergate for Richard Nixon. One hundred demonstrators showed up on July 9 in Kansas City, Mo., when the president appeared to speak at the swearing-in ceremony of Clarence Kelley, the new FBI chief.

The protesters carried signs reading "Release Presidential Papers"; "Nixon — In Contempt of the American People"; and "Kelley and Nixon — Partners in Racism." When the president mentioned street crime at one point in his speech, someone yelled out, "What about crime in the White House?"

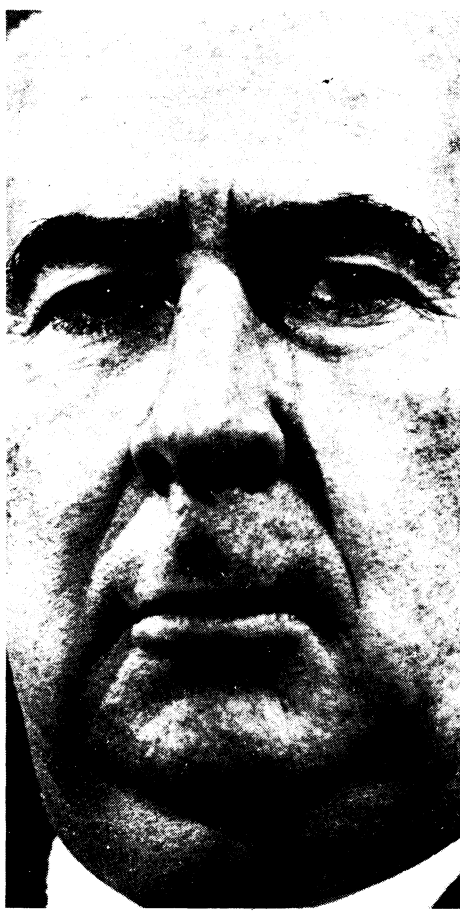
This week millions watched as the former number-one "crime fighter," John Mitchell, testified before the Senate Watergate committee.

Mitchell is Nixon's former law partner. He served as his campaign manager in 1968 and again in 1972, and also put in several years as U.S. attorney general in the Nixon cabinet. He has been heavily implicated in every aspect of the Watergate affair, going back to 1971. He has already been indicted for his part in the Robert Vesco stock swindle, and further indictments may not be too far off.

In 1968, Nixon appointed Mitchell attorney general, calling him "one who recognizes the necessity to assure justice as well as law and order," and who "will bring an extra dimension" to the office.

That statement is definitely "inoperative" today. The White House recently accused Mitchell of being the "patron" of John Dean in the Watergate scandal.

Mitchell's first day of testimony before the Senate Watergate committee on July 10 contradicted many key parts of the statements made by his former campaign lieutenant, Jeb Stuart Magruder, and by ex-White House counsel John Dean.



MITCHELL: Nation's ex-top cop wanted to sweep White House crimes under rug.

Mitchell called one statement by Magruder a "palpable, damnable lie," referring to Magruder's charge that Mitchell had received reports on illegal wiretaps. He also denied he had given formal approval to Liddy's \$250,000 plan that resulted in the Watergate break-in, as Magruder had testified.

The former attorney general also claimed that while he helped organize payments to Watergate defendants, he had no idea this was "hush" money. Dean has testified that it was Mitchell's

idea in the first place to purchase the burglars' silence.

But the biggest contradiction in Mitchell's testimony thus far is his insistence that Nixon never knew what was going on. That is a "palpable lie" if there ever was one.

According to Mitchell, the facts about Watergate were withheld from the president in order to protect him. "I knew the actions that he would take [to punish the wrongdoers] and it would be most detrimental to his political campaign," Mitchell claimed.

He also testified about his fear that a serious investigation would uncover what he called the White House "horror stories"—"the Ellsberg break-in, the Huston plan, the bombing at the Brookings Institute, the Dita Beard case."

The former attorney general acted as though he expected the Senate committee to believe that in the many discussions he had with Nixon, the true facts of the Watergate scandal were never mentioned. He even said that in his meeting with the president the day before he resigned as campaign manager, June 30, 1972, the two never even discussed Watergate.

Mitchell's belief in Nixon's innocence, he told the senators, is based "solely on my association with the president."

Whether or not the Senate committee shakes Mitchell from this story, the American people certainly think it's a lie. The most recent Gallup poll shows that 71 percent of the population believes Nixon either "planned or knew about the bugging of the Democratic National Committee offices . . . or was involved in the cover-up of the incident."

It is this mounting public pressure that has forced the Senate Watergate committee to request Nixon's testimony and access to his files.

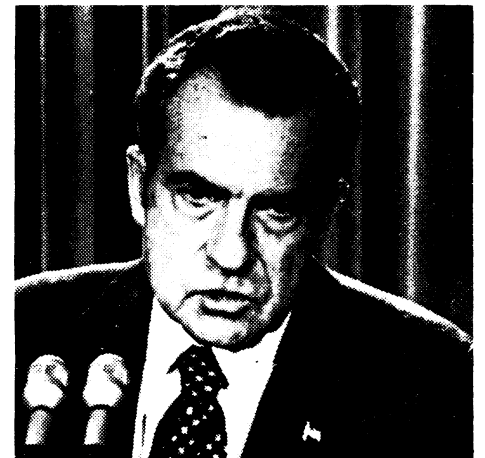
But in a letter on July 7, Nixon told Senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.), head of the Watergate committee, that he would not comply with the senators' demands. "I shall not testify before the committee," he wrote, "or permit access to Presidential papers."

This just made Nixon look worse, Ervin told reporters. "When a person doesn't disclose the evidence in their power," he said, "the presumption is the evidence would be adverse to them if it were disclosed."

The Senate committee will probably make its first challenge to the Nixon letter around the issue of the documents he is withholding. "Obviously we've reached a point where they've decided it is not appropriate to cooperate," committee majority counsel Samuel Dash said July 10.

According to *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, "Senate sources said it is virtually certain that the committee will vote to subpoena the White House documents, thus setting the stage for a possible Constitutional struggle between Nixon and the Congress."

Continued on page 22



NIXON: 71 percent of Americans are sure he's guilty.

The house that Dick built

On July 3 White House press secretary Ron Ziegler issued a statement claiming that newspaper accounts suggesting wrong-doing in the purchase of Nixon's 29-acre San Clemente, Calif., estate are "malicious, ill-founded and scurrilous."

Ziegler's statement only adds weight to these suspicions. White House denunciations of this sharpness have, throughout the Watergate scandal, invariably been followed by retractions as new facts unfolded.

Nixon was able to purchase the \$1.4-million estate with a cash outlay of only \$34,514. This was made possible by a series of loans from Nixon's multimillionaire friend Robert Abplanalp.

Perhaps it was only coincidence that just two years after Nixon "purchased" his San Clemente estate with Abplanalp's help, high Justice Department officials overruled staff recommendations to carry out an antitrust investigation of Abplanalp's Precision Valve Corporation (PVC). PVC controls 60 percent of the world's marketing and manufacture of aerosol valves.

Whatever mysteries may surround the purchase of the San Clemente estate, there can be no question that Nixon had it fixed up in an improper manner. Millions of dollars of taxpayers' money were used to create luxurious comfort befitting a king at both the San Clemente estate and

another Nixon "retreat" in Key Biscayne, Fla.

The amount of funds the government admits using for these purposes goes up steadily. On May 26, the White House told the *New York Times* that government financed improvements at San Clemente totaled \$39,525. Two days later, the Associated Press established General Services Administration expenditures totaling \$109,385. By June 13, the admitted figure was \$414,000. The next day it reached \$456,352. By June 21, the agency admitted that it had spent \$703,367 for improving the San Clemente property and \$579,907 on Key Biscayne improvements.

The official government story is that these expenditures were authorized by the Secret Service to ensure "presidential security." However, no clear explanation has been given as to why "presidential security" required \$13,500 to be spent on a new heating system for the San Clemente estate, or what security considerations led to government purchases of a flagpole for \$2,329; a septic tank for \$1,995; an ice maker for \$621; and furniture for Nixon's den for \$4,800!

And the figures continue to climb. On July 6, the General Services Administration announced that six expensive golf carts, a house trailer, and a silver service had been purchased for use at the Western White House at

government expense. These expenditures of more than \$12,000 were not included in any previous reports.

Don't think that Nixon isn't on the lookout to save the taxpayers some money, though. On July 2, nationally syndicated columnist Jack Anderson reported that "about the same time that ITT was pulling strings to settle its anti-trust troubles, a subsidiary helped to install a free golf course at President Nixon's San Clemente estate."



White House denies charges that Nixon did anything wrong in obtaining this \$1.4-million San Clemente estate for \$34,514.

Why Badillo offered no real alternative

Lessons of N.Y. Democratic primary

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK—City Controller Abraham Beame defeated Puerto Rican Congressman Herman Badillo by a 3-to-2 margin in the June 26 runoff election for the Democratic mayoral nomination. The Beame victory was spurred by a record voter turnout organized by the Democratic Party machine.

The machine believed the high turnout would be necessary to offset the unprecedented bloc of Puerto Rican and Black votes in the June 4 primary that forced the Beame-Badillo runoff.

With the field narrowed, Beame picked up the substantial vote that had previously gone to Congressman Mario Biaggi. Biaggi, an ex-cop, ran a demagogic "law and order" campaign.

Beame carried 44 of the city's 67 assembly districts, winning a large margin in most white areas. Of the 23 districts that went for Badillo, 18 were Black and Puerto Rican districts—areas such as the South Bronx, Harlem, and Bedford-Stuyvesant. (It was the heavy vote for Badillo in these areas in the June 4 primary that propelled him to second place in that four-way contest.)

In a July 1 article headlined "A Minority Candidacy is Rejected," the *New York Times* said, "Clearly the white middle class, still the dominant voting bloc in this increasingly black and Puerto Rican city, was not ready to accept a Puerto Rican for mayor. . . . And, since polarization works both ways, blacks and Puerto Ricans in the main apparently voted for Mr. Badillo because he is a Puerto Rican."

"Certainly no other issue seemed to emerge. Both Mr. Beame and Mr. Badillo vied with each other in their appeals to the middle class."

As the *Times* indicates, the Beame-Badillo race was typical of capitalist party election campaigns: it offered the voters nearly identical programs and no real political choice. Both candidates were vying to further their careers, which are based on representing the interests of the bankers, landlords, and corporation owners who control the Democratic Party.



BEAME: Appealed to racist fears to defeat Badillo.

Beame appealed to the racist fears of some white voters in order to defeat Badillo. He repeatedly charged that Badillo's candidacy was "polarizing" the city. A Citizens for Beame ad in the *Jewish Press*, for example, exhorted New Yorkers to vote for Beame "as if your life depends upon it, because it does."

Badillo countered by stepping up his attempts to persuade white voters that his prime concern was with the "middle class." He traveled in predominantly white areas with only a few campaign workers, claiming, "It's a question of overcoming fear. They expect me to come in with a whole crowd of Puerto Ricans, yelling and screaming."

In spite of this, thousands of Puerto Ricans and Blacks, usually uninterested in primaries, still supported Badillo. They mistakenly believed he could represent their interests in a political system that is openly hostile to them. The enthusiastic support for Badillo's campaign among Puerto Ricans reflects their growing drive to assert themselves in New York City politics.

Puerto Rican community

Puerto Ricans have made their heightened political consciousness felt in a number of ways. On the electoral front, they have forced changes in certain electoral procedures that previously made it difficult or impossible for them to vote. The winning of a bilingual ballot was one such change.

Another step forward was the victory in the struggle to force the city to redraw the district lines for the city council race. At present there are two Blacks and no Puerto Ricans on the city council. With the redrawn lines, the next city council is expected to have four Black and two Puerto Rican members.

Puerto Rican activists also won a court ruling that the new district lines are still unrepresentative and must be redrawn entirely next year. As a result, city council members elected this year must stand again in a special election in 1974.

The Communist Party and its mayoral candidate, Rasheed Storey, campaigned for Badillo around the slogan "Defeat Beame." This, they explained in their literature, was the way to defeat racism.

Norman Oliver and the other Socialist Workers Party candidates campaigned vigorously against Badillo, Beame, and all the candidates of the

two capitalist parties. The SWP addressed an open letter to the CP, criticizing their notion that racism could be defeated by electing Badillo or any other candidate of the Democratic and Republican parties—parties controlled by the very people who profit from the system that perpetuates racism.

Communist Party view

In the June 26 *Daily World*, Simon Gerson attempted to answer the SWP's open letter by pointing to the recent election to Congress of Black Democrats Reverend Andrew Young in Atlanta and Barbara Jordan in Houston, and "literally hundreds of such examples at municipal, state and Federal levels. . . ."

"That," Gerson states, "is the real political process through which the national minorities of our nation are today waging the fight for political representation and against the racism which seeks to keep them from positions of influence."

Gerson accuses the SWP of seeking to "disrupt the developing informal coalition [in the Democratic Party] against racism" by elevating "to a principle refusal to support any Black or Puerto Rican candidate who may be seeking public office under a major [read "capitalist"] party designation. . . ."

"To be 'neutral' in this struggle in the guise of high-flown 'left' phrases . . . is to permit the racist drive to go unchecked," Gerson tells us.

Consigning the fight against racist oppression to the Democratic or Republican parties is precisely the opposite of the "real political process" through which oppressed minorities will win their liberation. It is true that at this time the masses of Blacks and Puerto Ricans are under the illusions that basic changes can be won through electing Black or Puerto Rican capitalist party politicians. But this is a trap the rulers of this country have set for the Black and Puerto Rican people.

Puerto Rican political ferment first erupted, as did the Black liberation struggle, outside of and independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, which had shown no concern for the needs of Black and Puerto Rican people.

It was only after this independent power was demonstrated that the Democratic and Republican parties sought to co-opt this powerful political activism. The role of a Herman Badillo is to "sell" Puerto Ricans the notion that this racist system can be reformed.

Role of Black Democrats

Black Democrats emerged as standard-bearers for the Democratic Party only after the civil rights movement and the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s gave a powerful jolt to this racist system. Did the election of Carl Stokes in Cleveland or Richard Hatcher in Gary, Ind., put Black people in, as Gerson put it, "positions of influence" to change the conditions of ghetto life?

Far from it. The election of Black Democrats, insofar as it disarms independent, self-reliant Black activism and sows illusions that social justice can be achieved through Democratic Party politics, actually gives the ruling minority more maneuvering room to continue its racist policies.

The SWP is not "neutral." It supports and helps extend the struggles of Blacks and Puerto Ricans against their oppression. It is the CP that has "disrupted" the developing coalitions against racism by helping to divert militant Black and Puerto Rican strug-

gles into the dead end of the Democratic Party.

Gus Hall's 'Lame Duck'

There is no doubt that there is confusion in the Communist Party about the Marxist principle of opposition to capitalist parties. Little wonder, when the major guideline put forward by CP leader Gus Hall, his recent pamphlet *Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters*, leaves the door open to the "lesser evil" strategy, while Hall in the same breath polemicizes against it.

"What is the nature of the change we are proposing?" Hall asks. ". . . it is to end the idea that the Democratic Party can become the base for political independence. *It cannot!*"

But, says Hall, the "policies of the Party must be carried out with thought and with common sense." He warns the CP not to emulate the "irresponsible" policy of the Trotskyists in "running candidates . . . against Black, liberal, working-class candidates." (Would it have been irresponsible for Rasheed Storey to actually campaign after his candidacy was announced in March, rather than waiting until Badillo was defeated in June?)

Gerson charges that the SWP gave Beame a "mild wrist slap" while "they train their guns at Badillo." It is patently false that the SWP has offered only mild opposition to Beame. The SWP campaign has vigorously criticized Beame, as well as all other capitalist candidates who have entered the mayoral race.

What Gerson objects to is the fact that Norman Oliver and the other SWP candidates have not hesitated to aim heavy fire at Badillo as well. Many of the community and student activists involved in real struggles for social change had strong illusions about Badillo. To win these activists to socialism, the SWP candidates have given special attention to explaining why Badillo's campaign would not advance the struggle of Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and all other working people.

Far from being "irresponsible," as Hall claims, the SWP candidates have shouldered the responsibility that falls to revolutionary socialists to provide an example and to present a program for how to fight this racist system.



Militant/John Lauritsen

OLIVER: SWP calls for break with "lesser evil" capitalist politics.



Militant/Flax Hermes

HALL: CP campaigned for Badillo around slogan "Defeat Beame."

SWP, Raza Unida, others in CoDEL suit New challenge to Calif. ballot restrictions

SAN FRANCISCO, July 10—The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) today filed a suit asking the federal courts to declare unconstitutional sections of the California election law. The suit seeks to overturn the requirement that a new party seeking ballot status obtain the signatures of 663,000 voters or register 67,000 members in the party.

Attorney for the suit is Vincent Hallinan, who was a presidential candidate for the Progressive Party in 1952.

The suit will be filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, La Raza Unida Party, the Prohibition Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Libertarian Party, and the Feminist Party. All these parties are presently unable to meet California's rigid ballot requirements although most have run candidates in other states as recently as 1972.

CoDEL held a news conference here in Hallinan's office. A simultaneous news conference was held in Los Angeles. Major radio and television stations and daily papers in both cities attended the conferences.

In announcing the suit, California CoDEL coordinator Christine Hildebrand said, "California has the most

discriminatory election laws in the U.S. It is clear that the California laws not only deny Californians the constitutional right to freedom of expression at the ballot box, but because it is the most populous state, California's laws deny other Americans their right to have their votes count as well. A party which may win many votes in other states for its presidential candidate would not have much chance of being elected if Californians could not vote for its candidate."

Hallinan pointed out that "devices like those used to keep new parties off the ballot in California are in the same spirit that brought about the Watergate caper—once you're in, lock the other fellow out."

Gary Yoes, president of the San Francisco Young Democrats, called on elected Democratic officials and party leaders to support the suit. Speaking for his organization, which has endorsed the suit, Yoes said, "We must not be afraid of competition. The people must be given a free choice, not a rigged one."

Speaking on behalf of La Raza Unida Party were Andrés Rodríguez Torrès in Los Angeles and Gilbert López in San Francisco. Both dis-

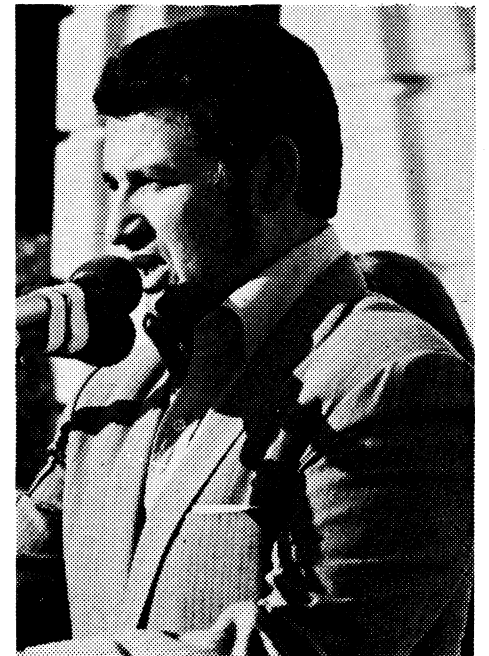
cussed the massive effort La Raza Unida carried out in its unsuccessful bid to qualify for ballot status in California in 1972. More than 30,000 Chicanos were registered into the party during this effort.

López's statement said, "What importance does the suit hold for La Raza Unida Party? If successful, it will mean the removal of the most debilitating shackles that have kept the Spanish-speaking community out of political participation. The legitimacy of La Raza Unida should drastically reduce the vote-getting effectiveness of the major parties, particularly the Democratic Party."

Ken Milner, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, said, "Today, more than ever, there is a need to end the restrictions whose sole end is to maintain the domination of the Republican and Democratic Parties in elections. The Watergate revelations have shown the real attitudes of these two parties towards democratic elections."

Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Federation of Teachers, was present at the Los Angeles news conference. Miles Myers, senior vice-presi-

dent of the California Federation of Teachers, attended the San Francisco news conference, as did C. T. Weber, state chairman of the Peace and Freedom Party, and representatives of all the other parties joining in the suit.



Militant/Jack Barrett

LRUP's TORRES: Suit can advance independent Chicano political action.

SWP plan to end Seattle's 'oilgate' crisis

By MIKE ARNALL

SEATTLE—Local environmental activists challenged the oil industry's claims of a nationwide fuel shortage at a recent symposium on the "energy crisis." The symposium was sponsored by the Washington Environmental Council and the University of Washington Institute of Environmental Studies. Keynote speakers and panelists discussed increases in gasoline and other fuel prices, possibilities of new energy sources, and the inefficiency of present fuel usage.

Gary Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Seattle city council, attempted to present a statement during the discussion period. The chairwoman, Marianne Craft Norton, president of the Washington State Division of the American Association of University Women, tried to silence Johnson by saying that political statements did not fit into the format of the day. Protests from campaign supporters, other members of the panel, and the audience forced Norton to allow Craig Honts, SWP mayoral candidate, to deliver the campaign statement.

Grenville Garside, energy study coordinator of the U.S. Senate's Com-



SWP's HONTIS: Oil is too precious to be controlled by a few wealthy businessmen.

mittee on Interior and Insular Affairs, called for tax breaks for the oil and natural gas monopolies in order to provide "incentive" for them to expand their exploratory and refining opera-

tions. He also urged public support to construction of the Alaska pipeline. The pipeline has been strongly opposed by environmentalists, who claim it would do irreparable damage to the Alaskan wilderness.

Henry Curtis, president of the North West Public Power Association, presented another pro-oil-industry view. He predicted that the present rate of fuel usage would lead to the possible death of "billions of people." "Many civilizations have gone the wrong way," Curtis said. "And for all we know it was because they were unable to meet their energy needs."

Brock Evans, representing the Sierra Club, cut across the assertions of Garside and Curtis with a series of facts about the petroleum industry's production in the past year. He documented that refineries throughout the country are operating at 60 to 85 percent capacity. Oil reserves currently held in U.S. refineries are greater now than last year.

Evans accused the oil industry of artificially driving up prices, trying to force relaxation of environmental standards regulating air emissions and off-shore drilling, stampeding the

start of construction on the Alaska pipeline, and driving independent gas dealers out of business. He called for an investigation of the oil industry, suggesting it be named "Oilgate."

The statement presented by Craig Honts pointed out that as long as oil is controlled by a few gigantic monopolies, these monopolies will be manipulating supply and prices. "What is needed," Honts said, "is a new kind of voting, where the policies of Shell, Gulf, Arco, et al. are made not on the basis of profits for the rich, but on the basis of the needs of the majority of people. We need a system where everyone gets a vote in those decisions."

"Oil is too precious a resource; it affects the well-being of too many people to be controlled by a few wealthy businessmen. The oil companies should be expropriated with no indemnification and put under control of the oil workers themselves."

Some of the points the statement made were echoed in the discussion. Several members of the audience asked for copies of the statement, and also endorsed the campaign.

CoDEL suit seeks bilingual voting in New York

By EILEEN WELLS

NEW YORK, July 2—Spanish-speaking voters and Ramon Velez, Democratic candidate for city council, have filed suit in federal court here to force New York to provide Spanish-speaking personnel at polling places in all New York elections.

By law, the persons who work at the polling places are appointed by the board of elections from lists compiled by committees of the Democratic and Republican parties. There is no requirement that these posts be filled by bilingual persons.

The current lawsuit is one of a series filed recently by the Committee for

Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and other legal groups attacking the failure of city—and in this case the major parties—to adequately provide for the electoral participation of New York's one million Puerto Rican residents.

On June 19, lawyers for Democratic and Republican party leaders and for the board of elections argued before Judge Charles Stewart that there is no real need to appoint bilingual personnel. And even if there were such a need, they claimed they could not find enough Spanish-speaking people who would want the job.

To counter the arguments that bi-

lingual personnel are not needed, attorney Paul Bleifer presented an affidavit from Judy Baumann, CoDEL national secretary. The affidavit outlined the ways voters are deprived of their rights because the inspector can't speak Spanish.

Baumann cited examples of interference with Spanish translators, failure of English-speaking inspectors to find Spanish names on the voter rolls because of their unfamiliarity with Spanish pronunciation, and failure of inspectors to advise Spanish-speaking voters of their right to get court orders to permit them to vote.

The Migration Division of the Com-

monwealth of Puerto Rico, acting on behalf of the Spanish-speaking voters, also urged Judge Stewart to order the appointment of bilingual inspectors.

"The times are such that bilingual people at all levels have become essential," Stewart acknowledged at the June 19 meeting. However, he refused to order bilingual personnel for the primary election held June 26, because he said it would be impossible to implement such an order in the one week remaining before the election.

The attorneys have refiled the suit to get bilingual personnel for all future elections, including the November mayoral contest.

New Teamster settlement aids Nixon's hold on wages

By FRANK LOVELL

Officials of the Teamsters union announced June 28 that they had reached a new 33-month master freight contract with the trucking industry, effective July 1. This is the latest in a long list of secretly negotiated wage settlements closely hewed to the guidelines of the Nixon administration. It follows the pattern of settlements in railroad, oil, rubber, electrical manufacturing, and the U.S. Postal Service.

In the case of the Teamsters, wages are limited to an annual increase of about 7 percent (more than most others have gotten). The present hourly average of \$6.16 will go up to \$6.51 the first year. Thirty-eight cent raises will fall due in each of the last two years. Thus, the 400,000 drivers covered by the new agreement can expect to get a base rate averaging \$7.27 per hour in 1976.

Over-the-road drivers, paid by the mile at the present rate of 15.3 cents, will get another three-quarters of a cent in each of the first two years and one-half cent the third year, bringing their rate to 17.3 cents. Yearly earnings under this system average out to about the same as the hourly rate.

A limited escalator clause allows for a three-cent maximum in each of the last two years if the present rate of increase in the spiraling cost of living continues. (The base pay rate includes an eight-cent cost-of-living guarantee that can be extended to no more than 11 cents, hence a possible three-cent escalator.)

Improvements in pension and health and welfare benefits amount to 15 cents an hour the first year and 12.5 cents in each of the remaining two years. This raises total payments of the employers for these benefits from 70 cents to \$1.10.

Drivers with 20 years on the job will get a fifth vacation week and an extra holiday in the final year of the agreement.

Three independent trucking locals in Chicago announced agreement with the terms of the master contract negotiated by Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, thus ensuring there will be no strike to improve the settlement, as happened in 1970.

The membership of the Teamsters union is expected to vote in favor of the contract. It has already been unanimously endorsed by the 700-member negotiating committee, which includes one representative from each of the locals covered.

The employers, whatever the cost to them, expect to reclaim money for the wage raise plus a little extra for handling charges. Before the contract was approved by their side, members of Trucking Employers Inc. applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission for a stiff boost in freight rates. They are confident the Nixon administration will approve the higher rates when the current price freeze is lifted. This is part of the deal and if the rate-hike end of it fails, the Teamsters will then be asked to scale down wages accordingly.

The administration has given every indication that it approves of the deal as a whole. Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan congratulated Fitzsimmons and the union bargaining committee on "a fine job," and an insider on Nixon's Cost of Living Council said the agreement "sounds good," according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

These sources have reasons to be happy with the settlement. It conforms to their guideline of allowing wage increases of no more than 7 percent. This is far below the jump in overall consumer prices and lags sadly behind the out-of-sight increases in food prices.



FITZSIMMONS AND NIXON: Teamster settlement fits Nixon scheme to drive down workers' standard of living.

The settlement makes a mockery of the escalator clause that many unions are demanding. It accepts the basic proposition of the employers that profits and "economic stability" are decisive—not the needs of the workers. A genuine escalator clause would tie wages directly to rising prices in order to protect the standard of living of the workers.

Implicit in the deal worked out by the major trucking firms, Fitzsimmons, and the Nixon administration, is the anticipated raise in freight rates. If the ICC should balk at this, Fitzsimmons is prepared to back down on the latest wage increases, just as he has in several previous instances when trucking firms have pleaded "financial difficulty."

This settlement is a special service to the Nixon administration, designed to impose a restrictive wage pattern on all workers. It is a disservice to the vast majority of the 2.1-million member



Cleveland, April 1970. Teamsters demonstrated against unjust settlement.

Teamsters union, most of whom average \$4 an hour. A 7 percent raise for a worker getting \$4, with no escalator clause to keep even that minimal wage fully abreast of rising prices, will not go far to feed a hungry family.

These low-paid workers are the ones hurt most by this kind of a settlement. When trade-union officials make deals for a minority of higher-paid workers to get raises according to percentage guidelines, the low-paid workers always get less.

Most workers who earn \$4 an hour or less are unorganized, and the union bureaucrats think these unorganized workers are not the responsibility of the trade-union movement. But there are more than 60 million of them, and only about 21 million union members. If the welfare of the vast majority of the working class is not protected by union policy, then the unions cannot survive the slashes in the standard of living caused by each new jump in prices.

Teamster contracts covering farm workers in California accepted a wage scale of \$2.30 an hour. And there is no prospect of fighting for higher wages under the Teamsters organizational structure.

Fitzsimmons has demonstrated his loyalty to the Nixon administration beyond the call of duty. In return, he is primarily concerned about union-controlled welfare funds, which he hopes will remain immune from investigation by a grateful government.

Teamsters who work under the terms of the master freight contract will probably have occasion to demand that its wage provisions be lived up to by some of the trucking firms that will sign it. And those poorly paid members of the union who are not covered by the master freight contract may get the idea that they deserve a base rate of \$7 an hour, not a mere 7 percent raise.

Whatever happens in the next three years, one sure thing is that this contract will not help Fitzsimmons much at the 1976 Teamster convention. The current contract will expire in March 1976, three months before the convention. Fitzsimmons hopes to come up with a similar deal at that time to ensure his reelection. He doesn't yet know it, but this is strictly a one-time deal.

Trade-union women meet in Midwest, discuss rights, problems

By EILEEN BERLOW

CHICAGO — A Midwest Conference of Women Trade Union Leaders held here June 30 drew more than 200 women staff members, officers, and rank-and-filers from 20 international unions and 18 states. In the course of the conference, participants discussed their common problems, made plans for a continuing national organization, and called for a national meeting next year.

Spokeswomen for the group were Catherin Conroy of the international staff of the Communications Workers of America; Addie Wyatt, director of women's affairs for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; and Olga Madar, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers.

The conference highlighted the fact that while organizations of women have been growing in recent years, trade-union women generally have not had a framework within the union movement for exchanging information and planning action to fight problems that affect all women in the work force.

The conference discussed the plight of some 30 million unorganized women workers and the need to bring them into the mainstream of organized labor. The needs of welfare mothers and older women, and provisions for child care, equal pay, and upgrading the representation of women in union structures and policy making were also discussed.

Participating in the conference were women from such unions as the United Auto Workers, Teamsters, United Farm Workers, United Steelworkers, American Federation of Teachers, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

The previous week the Cleveland Council of Union Women held its first annual meeting. Twenty-three women from 10 unions came to hear reports on the council's progress and the perspectives for the coming year, as well as reports on activities in the different unions.

Jean Tussey, an organizer for the International Typographical Union (ITU), was elected the new president of the council.

Dorothy Sain, the outgoing president, is on the international executive board of the Newspaper Guild. She described how the group started last summer to work for labor support to the Equal Rights Amendment.

Frank King, head of the Ohio AFL-CIO, has been an outspoken opponent of the ERA and is credited for its defeat in the Ohio senate last spring.

"We want to make it clear that Frank King and George Meany don't speak for us," said Sain.

Members of the Cleveland Council of Union Women have introduced resolutions of support for the ERA in their unions and in the Cleveland Federation of Labor. They have testified before the Ohio legislature and demonstrated in support of the ERA, along with the more than 1,000 other women who came to the state legislature hearings last spring.

Four Cleveland unions have endorsed the amendment: AFSCME Local 1746; the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks; ITU Local 53; and the Cleveland Newspaper Guild.

The council sent letters to all Cleveland union locals, urging them to support the ERA. It also reaffirmed its support for the United Farm Workers Union.

Cele Carrigan, an international representative of the United Auto Workers, came from Detroit to give greetings. She pointed out that women unionists should give credit to the women's liberation movement for creating a climate in which women are finally being recognized for their talents.

Reviews of 'Teamster Rebellion'

Just off the press: *Teamster Power* by Farrell Dobbs (Monad Press, distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, \$2.95.)

This book tells the story of a turning point in Teamster history—the 11-state over-the-road campaign that organized tens of thousands and led to the transformation of the Teamsters into the powerful union it is today.

In the 1930s the Teamster Union was a weak craft union, limited mainly to milk, bakery, coal delivery, and transfer drivers in urban centers. The conservative national leadership of the Teamsters thought over-the-road truck drivers were not worth organizing. Farrell Dobbs, central strategist of this campaign to organize the "unorganizable," gives a step-by-step account of how it was accomplished and of how the resistance and pessimism of the national Teamster leadership was met and defeated.

In the words of James Hoffa, who served as an organizer under Dobbs and later became Teamster general president: "I wouldn't agree with Farrell Dobbs's political philosophy or his economic ideology, but that man had a vision that was enormously beneficial to the labor movement. Beyond any doubt, he was the master architect of the Teamsters' over-the-road operations."

Teamster Power is the sequel to *Teamster Rebellion* (also available from Pathfinder Press, \$2.25). In the year since its publication, *Teamster Rebellion* has been favorably reviewed in a wide range of newspapers and journals. The *North Country Anvil*, a magazine printed in Millville, Minn., commented that *Teamster Rebellion* is "an excellent account of the most pivotal events in the history of the city of Minneapolis—the Teamster strikes of the summer of 1934."

In the *Minneapolis Tribune*, a reviewer wrote: "Most readers will be fascinated by this 'insider's' vivid account of these strikes which captured the attention of the nation and significantly influenced the course of American working class history."

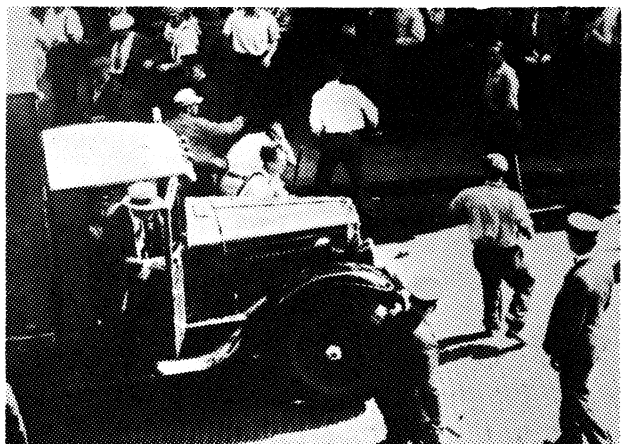
Minnesota History, journal of the Minnesota Historical Society, noted that in addition to being a crack teamster organizer, Dobbs is a revolu-

News from Pathfinder

tionary socialist. "Most important of all, the book presents the personal sentiments and convictions of a Minneapolis worker and confirmed Trotskyite who saw the strike not simply as a means of attaining higher wages and union recognition but also as a further step in the continuing and inevitable struggle between capital and labor. He has captured well the hopes, hatreds, and excitement of those turbulent days."

Labor History, publication of the Tamiment Library of Labor History in New York City pointed out that Dobbs's "most important contributions to the historical record lie in his clear explication of the methods used to mobilize strikers and allies, the dynamics of the changing union tactics, and descriptions of the attitudes of the rank and file and their opponents at various junctures."

In all, there have been more than 20 reviews and articles on *Teamster Rebellion* in United States publications. *Teamster Power* should receive comparable attention, as well as being valuable reading. — PEGGY BRUNDY



Truck drivers battle police during 1934 strike in Minneapolis.

Help wanted, no longhairs need apply

Several government agencies appear to be having some recruitment problems lately. The Central Intelligence Agency, for example, admits to a marked decline in job applicants since the Watergate scandal erupted.

Ever optimistic, a CIA spokesman told reporters it was too early to say whether it was the Watergate taint that was hampering their recruitment. He suggested instead that the decline might be due to "changing employment conditions in some parts of the country." Which parts, he didn't say.

If that's the problem, the Army seems to have caught a double dose. Six months after the end of the draft, they have no idea where they're going to come up with the 160,000 recruits they need this year.

It's not for lack of trying. They've put so much pressure on local recruiters that more than 100 of them across the country have been relieved of duty for taking such shortcuts as falsifying police records, faking high school diplomas, and handing out crib sheets along with IQ tests.

Money doesn't seem to work either. Anticipating the problems of staffing an all-volunteer Army, the Pentagon began a year ago to offer a bonus of \$1,500 to combat volunteers—the first time they've had to resort to such a bonus since the Spanish-American War of 1898. In May, they even upped the ante to \$2,500. No dice; they still fell 30 percent short.

The National Guard isn't in quite such bad

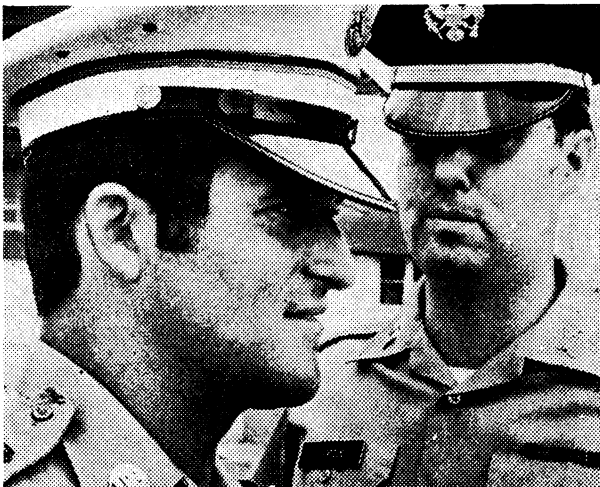
American Way of Life

shape yet; they're only 58,000 men short. But with weekend warriors so hard to come by, most officers have had to learn to look the other way when regulations are ignored. Especially haircut regulations.

As one commanding officer told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter, given the manpower shortage, there's no point in taking action against a man's hair unless it's "exceptionally gross," a category he declined to define.

Shortage or no, some officers are having a hard time adapting to the new situation. Colonel John Lance of Fort Meade, Md., for example, still maintains that no guardsman on his post is going to look "like Lassie or Wolfman."

As a result, at least 30 men in his company have had to shell out \$35 apiece for short-hair wigs.



Guardsman Donald Snapp finally passed inspection after trimming his wig.

(New regulations permit guardsmen to substitute wigs for haircuts.)

Even then, long-haired guardsmen's problems were far from over. Under military regulations, a soldier's hair cannot touch his ears or collar. Even some of the wigs didn't pass Colonel Lance's stiff inspection.

Fort Meade Guardsman Joe Fahed reported he had to cut his wig until the lining was almost showing. Another guardsman passed only provisionally—on condition that he trim the side and back of his wig until it looked more like Colonel Lance's own crew cut.

It doesn't look like the problem will just go away, either. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Kelly ("mad dog Kelly" to the men at Fort Meade) is even more open in his criticism of long-haired recruits. "The men aren't supposed to think," he said. "I say we should throw them out if they don't want to conform to the regulations." — MICHAEL BAUMANN

The Militant 'not authorized' at U.S. prison

A few weeks ago the "In Brief" column reported on a law suit on behalf of 82 federal prisoners to end mail censorship and restrictions. The brief filed by The National Prison Project of the American Civil Liberties Union lists complaints from each of the prisoners. These range from the opening and censoring of attorney-client correspondence to denying prisoners access to certain publications.

Specific charges lodged against prison authorities include: refusing to forward prisoners' letters to "undesirable correspondents" such as the Black Panther Party or recently released prisoners; prohibiting mail from any political party other than Democratic and Republican parties; holding a prisoner in segregation for more than 10 months because of what officials termed "poison pen letters" and "radical ideas"; and refusing to send subscription requests and correspondence to radical papers, including *The Militant*.

The suit maintains that these are violations of the U.S. Constitution. Censorship of publications is specifically a violation of the First Amendment. If the case is successful, it would become illegal for prisons to arbitrarily hold up, censor, or restrict publications and correspondence.

The importance of this case, and the blatant attack on constitutional rights it documents, was graphically illustrated for us last week when 37 *Militants* to subscribers at the U.S. Penitentiary in Leavenworth, Kans. were returned marked "Not Authorized at U.S. Penitentiary."

This is not the first such occurrence. *Militants* have been returned before from Leavenworth and prisoners there have made many complaints about delayed delivery and censorship. Our letters of protest to officials there have brought only ambiguous responses about "inflammatory" material.

Leavenworth's warden, S.J. Britton, wrote us in May, "Any time that articles appear that would tend to inflame, incite or otherwise upset the orderly activity of the institution, that particular issue will be denied and the inmate is so informed of it."

Leavenworth is not the only offender. In New York, each state prison has a committee that operates under censorship guidelines, and its decision is subject to review by the Media Review Committee

Militant Gets Around

in Albany—a process that in itself may take from six to eight weeks.

The Clinton Correctional Facility in Dannemora, N.Y., has held up *Militants* several times, supposedly under regulations prohibiting publications inciting "hatred or disobedience towards law enforcement officers or prison personnel."

Let's look at one issue of *The Militant* dated Jan. 26, 1973, that was judged improper under this rule. Assuming that this regulation applies to any critical mention of cops, we found at least three articles that the authorities at Clinton might be particularly interested in suppressing. One reported the formation of a coalition in Detroit to fight against police brutality. Another dealt with the repression at San Quentin following a two-day strike by prisoners there. And the "By Any Means Necessary" column that week exploded the myth of a nationwide plot to murder cops and characterized it as an excuse for stepping up attacks on the Black community.

Rather than inciting "hatred or disobedience," the criterion for censorship seems to be any truthful reporting of the brutal and racist attacks by police and of any actions taken by Blacks, inside or outside prison, to stand up for their rights.

Hopefully, the ACLU suit will bring an end to this kind of arbitrary, unconstitutional censorship.

— NANCY COLE



Militant/Michael Baumann

TEAMSTER POWER

Teamster Power by Farrell Dobbs. A Monad Press book distributed by Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014). 1973. 255 pp. Paper \$2.95. Cloth \$8.95.

Mention the International Brotherhood of Teamsters today and you conjure up the image of one of the most corrupt and reactionary union bureaucracies around. You envision Teamster head Frank ("Watergate") Fitzsimmons loyally backing Nixon's wage controls, looting union pension funds hand-in-hand with mobsters, and conspiring with California agribusiness to smash the United Farm Workers.

But the men and women who built the Teamsters union were altogether different from the self-serving hacks who rule it today. They were animated by different motives and their methods were the opposite of the class-collaboration, gangsterism, treachery, and dictatorial misrule that are the hallmark of the Fitzsimmons 'gang. *Teamster Power* tells part of their story.

In his earlier book, *Teamster Rebellion* (Monad Press, 1972), Farrell Dobbs recounted the hard-fought strikes in 1934 that won union recognition for General Drivers Local 574 in Minneapolis. On one side stood the militant workers who carried out an organizing drive that boosted 574's membership from less than 100 to several thousand. Revolutionary socialists of the Communist League of America (forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party) were their central leaders.

On the other side was the bosses' "Citizens Al-

Books

liance," backed by the mayor and the cops. They were determined to keep Minneapolis an open-shop town, with low wages and miserable working conditions.

Despite police violence, the arrest of union leaders, the imposition of martial law, red-baiting attacks, and duplicity by government mediators, Local 574 emerged victorious from the confrontations. Its success was due to the application of class-struggle methods by the militant rank-and-file workers under the guidance of experienced Trotskyist leaders.

Teamster Power tells how the methods of the 1934 strikes were applied in a broader arena to consolidate union power in Minneapolis, extend left-wing unionism throughout Minnesota and the North Central region, and carry out an 11-state organizing campaign of over-the-road drivers.

The campaign had as its goals recruiting thousands of previously unorganized long-distance drivers into the IBT, developing greater regional Teamster coordination to maximize the union's strength, and then forcing the employers to sign an area contract that would establish higher wages and better working conditions throughout the region.

The IBT officialdom held the same narrow craft-



Bill Schleicher

DOBBS: "Uniquely qualified to chronicle and draw the lessons of these events . . . a key strategist of the over-the-road campaign."



Labor rally in Minneapolis. Unlike Teamster officialdom today, which is cooperating with California growers in attempt to destroy the United Farm Workers Union, Minneapolis Teamsters Union in 1930s was characterized by union solidarity and support to struggles of the oppressed.

union outlook as the rest of the AFL bureaucracy and had never made a serious effort to organize the over-the-road haulers. They were content so long as the dues payments kept coming in from workers in local trucking operations.

The over-the-road campaign, which marked a step toward the industrial form of unionism, had to be spearheaded by left-wingers, and in particular by Local 574, with its socialist leadership.

The decisive test of strength in this effort came in a showdown with the trucking firms in Omaha that refused to sign the area contract. A bitterly fought strike that lasted from September 1938 to February 1939 finally broke the Omaha bosses' resistance.

The first area contract was the biggest contract ever negotiated by the IBT up to that time, involving more than 1700 companies and 175 Teamster locals. Winning it was a breakthrough for the IBT and an important step in transforming it into one of the most powerful unions in the country.

The role of Farrell Dobbs

Farrell Dobbs is uniquely qualified to chronicle and draw the lessons of these events. Because of his role in the 1934 strikes, he was elected an officer and staff director of Local 574. He was recognized as a key strategist of the over-the-road campaign, serving as secretary of the Teamsters' North Central Area Committee. After the victory of that campaign he joined the staff of general organizers of the IBT.

Dobbs joined the Communist League of America during the 1934 strikes and has been a central leader of the Trotskyist movement since the late 1930s. From this vantage point he is able to explain the role of Marxist militants in the turbulent events he describes, and the relation between the revolutionary party and the trade unions.

When the Communist League members in Minneapolis initiated the Teamster organizing drive in 1933-34 as the first step toward building a left-wing in the unions, they were careful to avoid a premature confrontation with the bureaucrats over union posts. They developed a flanking tactic of putting forward their program for building the union and urging its adoption.

They made it clear that their aim was to build a stronger union to advance the interests of all workers, not to "take over" the union for their own personal gain or factional advantage. Their primary fire was directed at the bosses, not the union leaders.

They took advantage of any rifts in the bureaucracy, any statements or actions that provided an opening to implement the class-struggle program, whether through official union structures

or ad hoc bodies.

Then, through the course of the 1934 strikes, the Trotskyists won recognition as the best fighters and real leaders. At the same time, those elected leaders who couldn't reconcile themselves to the new class-struggle policies became discredited. Afterward the change in formal leadership was accomplished with ease.

Class-struggle unionism

The functioning of Local 574 under Trotskyist leadership provides a model of union democracy and class-struggle methods.

Local 574's structure was transformed to put the membership in control. General membership meetings with full democratic discussion were held every two weeks and had the highest policy-making authority.

The primary leadership was the union executive board, elected every year, and the staff of full-time organizers. These organizers received the same pay as a working driver, and often less, since the union's treasury was usually low.

Workers at each company elected a steward to act as direct union representative on the job. The job steward system created a broad layer of secondary leadership in the union, as well as being the most effective way to see that contracts were enforced, grievances settled, and new workers recruited to the union.

The union conducted an educational program that included classes in economics, labor history and politics, public speaking, strike strategy, and union structure and tactics.

The class-struggle policies of Local 574 contrast sharply with the methods of the "labor statesmen," past and present.

The careerist bureaucrats tell the workers they must take a "responsible" attitude toward the boss, who is entitled to a "fair" profit. They keep negotiations under their own tight control and secret from the workers. They seek to avoid strikes at all costs, and jump at the first chance for a settlement. They are quick to include no-strike pledges in contracts and to submit grievances to arbitration.

Not strike-happy

Local 574 was not strike-happy, of course. But it knew the strike is an indispensable weapon of the working class and not to be surrendered. When a strike is necessary, it should be fought to win. That requires both a political strategy to mobilize the broadest possible support and close attention to every detail of technical preparation (commissary, hospital, strike newspaper, organization of picketing).

Strike strategy cannot be effective without an

understanding that the state apparatus is not, as popular myth would have it, "neutral" in labor disputes. Their experience had confirmed for the Minneapolis truck drivers that the cops, courts, and government labor boards represent not the "public" but the bosses. They can never be trusted to defend the workers' interests.

Local 574 recognized that a contract merely codifies promises wrung from the bosses in the course of a struggle, and that constant vigilance is required to defend and extend the workers' gains. Thus short term contracts, generally of one-year duration, were preferred so that new gains won

'Don't arbitrate'

The victory of the Teamsters' 1938 over-the-road organizing campaign, led by left-wingers, transformed the functioning of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. In *Teamster Power* Dobbs describes some of its characteristics at the time when he was IBT general organizer in charge of over-the-road operations:

"On every issue the IBT forces stood in full solidarity against the bosses and their stooges. Locals throughout the area had learned the value of using their collective strength in defending the workers' interests. As a result, fair and equitable internal relations prevailed in the union's over-the-road activities. Those involved tended to deal with one another in an open and above-board manner.

"In this democratic atmosphere the union fighters became increasingly responsive to a class-struggle outlook. To help this trend along, I often used the parting injunction, 'Don't arbitrate,' when we separated after a meeting. It was intended to drill into them an instinct to cling tenaciously to their freedom of decision, never letting it be taken from the union's hands by a so-called 'neutral party.'

"Another slogan was evoked when a local leader asked if the union could do one or another thing. My opening reply was usually: 'You can do anything you're big enough to do.' Then we would discuss more concretely just how strong the union's position was in the given situation. This helped to instill in the workers a reflex tendency to think always in terms of using their class power."

by the workers could be registered more rapidly.

Characteristic of the class-struggle policy was that the union concerned itself with far more than immediate wage and job issues affecting its members. It lent active support to all other unions; it sought to organize the unorganized; it fought in the interests of the oppressed against their oppressors.

For example, the AFL had no interest in the legions of unemployed, except to scorn them as potential strikebreakers. Local 574 took the opposite view, doing everything possible to help the unemployed. To this end it organized the "Federal Workers Section" of the local, which included the unemployed and workers on the federal "make-work" projects like the Works Project Administration. The Federal Workers Section led mass actions to win improvements in the public welfare system, to the point that Minneapolis provided the highest personal budget to persons on relief of any city in the country. It also organized the unemployed to support strikes.

Local 574 also developed a working relationship with the small farmers, whom the government and employers often attempted to pit against the truckers during a strike. Another aspect of its activities was building the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which helped defend victims of ruling-class justice.

The battle with Tobin

The aggressive campaign to strengthen left-wing unionism ran into obstacles not only from the bosses, but also from the IBT bureaucracy, headed by Daniel Tobin. In mid-1935 Tobin expelled Local 574 from the IBT, set up a bogus "Local 500," and approached the Minneapolis bosses with offers to sign contracts with a "responsible" union. Dobbs's account of the year-long battle that finally forced Tobin to back down is rich in lessons about how revolutionists in the unions can fight the bureaucracy's attempts to isolate them.

Local 574's readmission, in the form of a merg-

er with "Local 500" to form Local 544, cleared the way for a full-scale drive to "Make Minneapolis a Union Town," and to further broaden the left-wing forces.

Again a variant of the flanking tactic was employed in relation to the Tobin bureaucracy. The fundamental concepts of the over-the-road campaign were promoted by Local 544 and through the *Northwest Organizer*, the official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council. It became, in effect, the public voice of the class-struggle left-wing. In January 1937, the North Central District Drivers Council was formed to begin establishing Teamster power throughout the region.

Although Tobin ordered the NCDDC dissolved in January 1938, the momentum it had generated forced him to set up the North Central Area Committee to carry through the campaign under official IBT auspices.

Revolutionary party

A theme that runs throughout *Teamster Power* is the indispensable role of the revolutionary party. The successes of Local 574 and its ability to spearhead the expansion and transformation of the IBT were far from accidental occurrences. They were based on the leadership provided by the cadres of a Leninist party, who had assimilated the lessons of Marxism and the experiences of the workers movement over decades, and who could apply their ideology in the specific conditions of the day to formulate policies that could move the union forward.

The party members in Local 574 met regularly as an organized fraction to discuss policies to be advanced in the union. Their work both in the mass movement and in recruiting to the party was facilitated by sales of the party's national weekly, *The Militant*. In addition, they had the benefit of guidance from the party's national leadership, which was consulted on all crucial questions. In particularly critical situations national party leaders went to Minneapolis to help out directly.

Dobbs writes: "Revolutionists always strive to win supporters among those with whom they are associated, wherever that may be. In broad organizations such as trade unions, their efforts assume dual forms. On the one side, socialist militants involve themselves as fighters in support of the immediate aims of the masses. On the other, they also approach such activity as political work, using the lessons of the conflict to recruit new members into the revolutionary party. This duality, in turn, serves to strengthen class-struggle influences among the masses generally, as conditioned by the given objective trends."

The period covered by *Teamster Power* includes many key turning points in the development of the revolutionary party. The Communist League of America, the initial Trotskyist nucleus, fused with the American Workers Party (led by A.J. Muste) to form the Workers Party. Not long after, the members of the Workers Party joined the Socialist Party to make contact with a growing left-wing movement. Then in 1937 the Trotskyists were expelled from the SP—more than twice as



Union rally during 1934 Teamsters strike

strong as when they entered it—and formed the Socialist Workers Party. The book ends at the point when Farrell Dobbs left his position on the IBT staff to become national labor secretary of the SWP.

Throughout this period the activities of the Trotskyists in the Teamsters union won respect and many new members for the party not only in Minneapolis but throughout the country. The publication of *Teamster Power* gives today's revolutionary youth an opportunity to study and learn from this important chapter in our history.

But *Teamster Power* is more than history. It is a handbook for class-struggle action in the unions that will be invaluable for the young workers whose job it will be to transform the Teamsters and all other unions into fighting instruments that can take up where the labor upsurge of the 1930s left off.

The question naturally arises upon reading *Teamster Power*, How was the powerful fighting left-wing it describes tamed or destroyed in the process of creating the IBT we know today? For that story we will have to wait for the third and concluding volume of these "reminiscences of a participant in the labor upsurge of the 1930s."

—ANDY ROSE

How 574 helped welfare mothers

The Federal Workers Section of Local 574 was organized to help unemployed workers fight for their rights. Then as now, the welfare department did everything in its power to harass and humiliate women on welfare. *Teamster Power* quotes from the recollections of Marvel Scholl about the Federal Workers Sections' efforts to help women receiving Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) grants:

"ADC recipients were subjected to more harassment than regular relief clients. While they received no grant for their own livelihood, they were not allowed to work if they were under the program. Any evidence of a man's residence in the home was cause for immediate withdrawal of the grant. ADC investigators were known to arrive in the middle of the night, trying to catch a man in the mother's bed; they searched the homes for male clothing, pipes, etc.

"Another organization in Minneapolis, which worked closely with the ADC, was a private 'charity' known as the Children's Protective As-

sociation. Its main aim in life was to break up families, especially of women on ADC. When their agents got their hands on a woman—through the ADC mostly—they prowled the neighborhood, interviewed neighbors and tradespeople, built their case and then hauled the mother into court to take her children away from her.

"Our members always brought these cases to us. We had one cardinal rule. We made our own investigation, basing our findings always on what was best for the children. And our members knew and understood this from the first.

"Then we would appear in court with the member. . . .

"In every case in which we appeared for one of our members formal custody was awarded to a representative of the union and we placed the child in the 'foster home' of its mother. Many tragedies were prevented this way. Farrell and I, for example, were at one time jointly and separately guardians for 14 children."

...goons

Continued from page 3

From the Arvin-Lamont area the grape harvest moves on to Fresno and Delano. The 1970 UFW contracts there expire on July 29. Until recently it was expected that if the strikebreaking effort was successful in Coachella, the growers in Delano and Fresno would follow suit and sign with the Teamsters. It is now reported that the Delano and Fresno growers are having discussions with both the Teamsters and the UFW.

...grapes

Continued from page 3

rior quality of non-UFW grapes.

According to the Reverend John Bank, A&P in Chicago has responded to pressure from the boycott to the extent that they say they will buy UFW label grapes first and buy other grapes only if UFW grapes are not available.

The effectiveness of the boycott in Chicago was confirmed July 4 by Associated Press, which reported "reduced demand and lower prices" for grapes on sale there. AP also reported that two of the four major wholesalers in Chicago are now handling only UFW grapes.

Both in Los Angeles and San Francisco pickets are reportedly turning several thousand shoppers away from Safeway supermarkets each week.

Other reports indicate that a number of major chain stores in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York are respecting the boycott.

Here in Coachella grapes are piling up because of the lower demand. The refrigeration facilities of the H. & M. Tenneco Company are filled to capacity with 60,000 boxes of scab grapes.

This couldn't be happening to a more deserving group. Though not yet defeated, these wealthy growers

are finding out that even with the help of Teamster bureaucrats the destruction of the UFW isn't going to be a pushover.

...France

Continued from page 5

to stop them from selling the paper.

As of today, Krivine and Rousset are still in prison. On July 5, Krivine was interrogated for seven hours about his role in the planning of the June 21 protest demonstration outside the fascist meeting. Krivine was out of town at the time of the demonstration but is charged with responsibility for injuries to the police that occurred in the course of the demonstration.

Krivine's attorney, Yves Jouffa, told the press, "I believe that the 'antiwreck-er' law, which was used to jail my client, is contrary to the principles of the French penal code."

...dollar

Continued from page 7

In order to cool off the economy and reduce the inflation, the Federal Reserve has adopted "tight money" policies. These are designed to restrict the amount of money available for credit, to drive up interest rates, and to dampen business borrowings for expansion.

So far this has helped to drive the prime interest rate—the rate at which banks lend to their most dependable corporate customers—up to 8 percent, a "crisis" level in its own right. The last "credit crunch" in this country in 1970 brought the collapse of the Penn Central Railroad and a severe panic in banking circles.

So far this year, however, business expansion is continuing at a high rate according to *Business Week*, and interest rates could still go much higher. Eventually, however, "Reduced credit flow is a sure way to slow the econo-

my," *Business Week* adds.

The result will be production cutbacks and the throwing of hundreds of thousands of workers out of jobs.

Tears on the subject are already being politely shed in certain circles. "Whether or not the expected slowing of the pace of business reaches the proportions of a 'recession,'" writes *New York Times* economic reporter H. Erich Heinemann, "there seemed little doubt that a slowdown would hit most heavily those who have benefited least from the boom: the unskilled, the young, and blacks, who even today are continuing to suffer from high rates of unemployment."

But Heinemann knows very well that recessions always work this way and that higher unemployment is precisely what the ruling class counts on to stabilize the dollar.

It is unclear to what extent the Federal Reserve is actually engaging in swap operations. These could be conducted secretly.

In the long run, however, swap credit can only substitute increased world inflation for temporary relief from the danger of world recession. The foreign currencies are pumped into the world monetary system to shore up the dollar. U.S. inflation is thus "exported" to the strong currency countries. This has an immediate world inflationary impact.

Even though the *New York Times* recommended swaps, it stated editorially July 8, "This course is... fraught with danger since, if it failed, it would pile up still greater liquidity in the world and intensify inflationary pressures."

More and more the United States, like the capitalist world as a whole, is resorting to inflationary policies to overcome economic contradictions. That is why the fight against inflation, centered on the demand for cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts, and in Social Security, welfare, and unemployment benefits, is a key part of the struggle to protect workers' standard of living.

...W'gate

Continued from page 15

Among the papers Nixon wants to keep secret at all costs are documents relating to the 1970 spy plan, notes on discussions with John Dean, news briefings prepared for the president by his staff, and all material on Watergate in the files of H. R. Haldeman, John Dean, and John Ehrlichman.

The crisis has reached the point where Senate Majority Whip Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.) told reporters there may be "a situation where the President could no longer govern." Quoted in the July 9 *New York Daily News*, Byrd said he thought the likelihood of Nixon resigning "is probably greater than the possibility of impeachment."

And Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said July 10 that he opposed impeachment but added in the same breath, "We have to differentiate between the man and the office—the institution is what counts."

The Meaning of the Vietnam Accords

by Barry Sheppard and Dick Roberts

25c

PATHFINDER PRESS
410 West St., New York, N.Y.
10014.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Univ. of Calif. at Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92502.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 "E" St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Krista Zane, 514 1/2 San Benito Ave., Los Gatos, Calif. 95030. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 573-1588. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Jim Miles, 1207 South Wall, Hoffman House #147, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St. Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Lafayette: YSA, c/o Cliff Schlicher, 216 Spring St., Lafayette, La. 70501.

Lake Charles: YSA, c/o Cathy Harrison, P.O. Box 16, MSU, Lake Charles, La. 70601.

New Orleans: YSA, c/o Clarence Williams, 3141 N. Tonti St., New Orleans, La. 70117.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, c/o Dave McKim, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R. S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: Central New Jersey: YSA, c/o Bill Balderston, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Laura Grunberg, Box 2179, Mohican Hall, Indian Quad 1400, Washington Ave. SUNY, Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 381-2897.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio, 43228. Tel: (614) 878-5297.

Toledo: YSA, c/o Shannon O'Toole, 1606 Freeman St., #2, Toledo, Ohio 43606. Tel: (419) 472-2592.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Mary Pauli, 1195 Tyler, Eugene, Ore. 97402. Tel: (503) 344-5525.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, 2309 S. 4th St., Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 57105. Tel: (605) 332-4654.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

Salt Lake City: YSA, Student Activities Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.—8 p.m., Mon.—Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

Calendar

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Seminars related to classes on Transitional program, National question, Chinese revolution. Sat., July 21, and Sun., July 22. Sessions at Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.W., Third Floor. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

AUSTIN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes at Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

Tues., July 17, and Thurs., July 19, 7:30 p.m.: **The permanent revolution.** Teacher: Evelyn Sell.

BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on the Leninist conception of the party. Classes at 136 Lawrence St. (downtown). 50c per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

Wed., July 18, 7:30 p.m.: **Democracy and the revolutionary party.** Teacher: Jay Ressler.

CHICAGO

SUPPORT MEETING FOR THE FARM WORKERS. Film showing: *Si Se Puede*. Speakers: *Gustava Gutierrez*, United Farm Workers Union organizer; *Willie Barrows*, Operation PUSH; *Ernie De Maio*, United Electrical Workers. Fri., July 20, 7 p.m. YWCA, 37 S. Wabash. For more information call (312) 939-5120 or (312) 641-0147.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes at Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

Thurs., July 19, 7 p.m.: **A strategy for revolutionary youth.**

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Socialism in America. Series of classes held Sundays, 3 p.m., 3311 Montrose. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. 50c per session. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

Sun., July 22: **Radicalization of the '60s and the revolutionary party.**

LOS ANGELES

WHAT IS BEHIND THE MOSCOW-WASHINGTON DE- TENTE? THE MEANING OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT. Speaker: *Barry Sheppard*, national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 20, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NEW YORK CITY

VIVA LA HUELGA! Hear Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers Union, speaking on the **UFW: A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL.** Fri., July 27, 8 p.m. St. Gregory's Church, 144 W. 90th St. (between Amsterdam and Columbus avenues.) Donation: \$1. Sponsored by Brooklyn, Upper West Side, and Lower Manhattan Militant Forums. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 706 Broadway (near W. 4th St.), Eighth Floor. 50c per session. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

Wed., July 18, 8 p.m.: **Stalinism in Vietnam.** Teacher: George Johnson.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on the Leninist concept of the party. Classes at 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). 50c per session. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

Wed., July 18, 6:30 p.m.: **Democratic centralism.** Teacher: Cliff Conner.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. 50c per session. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

Thurs., July 19, 7 p.m.: **Seminar on Spanish Civil War.**

SAN DIEGO

THE BLOODY RETURN OF JUAN PERON. Speaker: *Virginia Garza*, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 20, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Come early and browse in the bookstore. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held Wednesdays, 8 p.m., 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

Wed., July 18: **Theory of permanent revolution.**

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Introduction to Marxism. Classes held Thursdays, 7:30 p.m., Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E. 25c per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Honts. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

Thurs., July 19: **The current radicalization: events since WW II.**

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE SWP ON THE AIR. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly radio program, 2 p.m. every Saturday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: *Jane Van Deusen*, SWP candidate for mayor of Minneapolis; *Martha Semerad*, steward in AFSCME Local 1164; *Jeanne Stevens*, SWP candidate for Minneapolis school board. (Young Socialist Alliance will sponsor dinner at 6:30 p.m., \$1.) Sat., July 21, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. (Petition drive to gather more than 5,000 signatures to put socialist candidates on ballot will begin Monday, July 23. All those able to help in this effort should contact SWP campaign headquarters.) For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE ENERGY CRISIS. Speakers: *Sam Love*, coordinator Environmental Action; *Wilson Clark*, energy consultant; *Eric Martel*, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board; *Jim Ridgeway*, author of *Last Play* and contributor to *Village Voice* and *Ramparts*. Fri., July 20, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on Founding and early history of Fourth International. Classes held Monday evenings, 8 p.m. Special weekend session, Sat., July 21, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m.: **Early history of Fourth International.** Teacher: *Will Reissner*. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

Humanism and Socialism

George Novack

Are humanism and socialism antithetical? Is Marxism equipped to deal with questions such as the meaning of life? Or is Marxist theory valid only for social and economic analysis? These are some of the questions that have been debated by such prominent figures as Jean-Paul Sartre, Roger Garaudy, and Leszek Kolakowski.

Humanism and Socialism is a major contribution by an American Marxist to this international discussion. George Novack outlines the challenge directed at Marxist theory by existentialists like Sartre, positivists like Karl Popper, and reformist humanists like Erich Fromm. Index, 160 pp. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.25

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

CLEVELAND

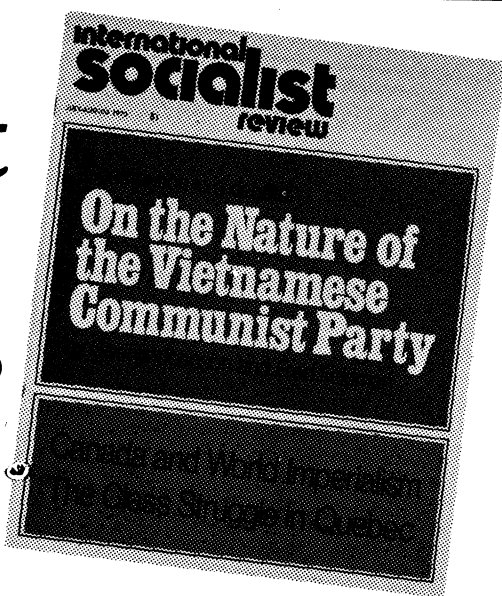
Campaign Banquet and Rally

SATURDAY, JULY 21. Refreshments 6 p.m.; Dinner 7 p.m.; Rally 8 p.m. Speaker: **ROBERTA SCHERR**, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, on "Who Rules Cleveland?" Tickets: \$4, students \$3; Rally only, \$1. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior, Cleveland. Telephone: (216) 391-5553.



Write for our 1973 catalog of books and pamphlets and order a bundle for distribution in your city: PATHFINDER PRESS, INC., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

a Marxist analysis of today's issues



subscribe. 3 mos. \$1 / 1 yr. \$5

- () Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.
() Send me 1 year of the ISR for \$5.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

International Socialist Review, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

Sell The Militant

Help The Militant get around by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 12.5 cents each, and we bill you at the end of each month.

Please send me 5 10 25 other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

THE MILITANT

Puerto Rican strikers defy National Guard



Striking firemen in Puerto Rico confront National Guard. Firemen, defying a court order to end the strike, said they will return to work 'when the government does us justice.'

By MIRTHA VIDAL

JULY 11—Thousands of workers demonstrated today in San Juan to protest the mobilization of the National Guard against striking firemen and electrical workers. Governor Rafael Hernández Colón called out the National Guard when a wave of major strikes swept Puerto Rico several days ago.

The strike by 1,350 firemen throughout the island continued into its eighth day, with the National Guard still operating the fire fighting facilities. The firemen yesterday defied a court order to end the strike. The union leaders have gone into hiding, and police have not been able to serve them with contempt of court citations.

United Firemen's Union president Vicente Melendez Borgez urged workers to stay off the job. "We will return when the government does us justice," he said.

The firemen are asking for an increase in pay, which now starts at \$385 a month, a reduction in the workweek, and improved working conditions. They stress, however, that a wage increase is secondary to their demand for better equipment and increased personnel for the antiquated

and inefficient fire department.

A six-day strike by the 7,000-member Electrical Workers Union that began July 5 left much of the island without electricity or running water. Yesterday, the governor announced that a settlement had been reached, that the workers would return to work immediately, and that the National Guard would leave the installations of the government-owned Electrical Company, which they have occupied for several days. However, the workers have so far rejected the settlement. Many of them have not gone back to work, and the National Guard was called back to the power plants today.

The electrical workers are demanding a cut in the workweek from 40 to 35 hours and increased sick leave and vacation benefits.

An eight-day strike by sanitation workers in San Juan ended July 9.

On July 7, a major confrontation occurred when the National Guard attempted to break through picket lines at the main fire house in Santurce, a few miles from San Juan. Several people were injured when the guardsmen fired tear gas and shots into the crowd of strikers and their supporters.

The capitalist press in Puerto Rico

launched a campaign to turn public sentiment against the striking workers. Acts of sabotage in some power plants were played up in order to justify the mobilization of the 3,300 National Guards.

An editorial in the July 10 issue of the San Juan daily *El Nuevo Día*, headlined "The Defense of the People," condemned the workers for "abandoning their duties in declaring the strike." The editorial hailed the mobilization of the National Guard as "an act of very legitimate self-defense carried out by the people through their Governor," and charged that the strikes were provoked by "a small but militant group" of leaders influenced by "foreign ideologies."

Hernández Colón congratulated the National Guard troops, adding that "without you, the people would be defenseless."

Today's demonstration included a four-hour stoppage and a march to the governor's mansion, where a vigil was scheduled to last until midnight. The action was called at a meeting of labor leaders representing a number of unions, including the Teamsters, Food and Restaurant employees, Boilermakers, the National Workers

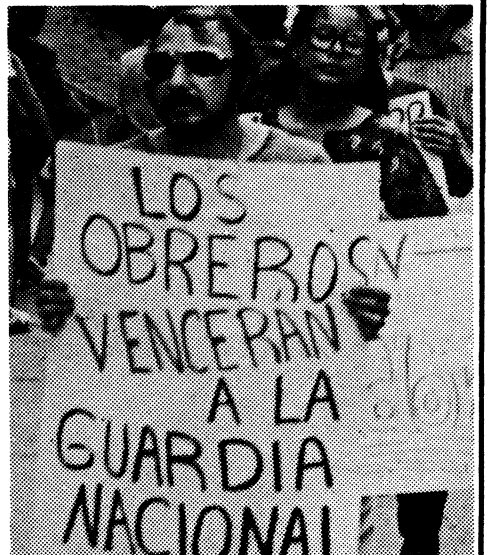
Union, and the Puerto Rican Workers Union.

A spokesperson for the group stated that "the intervention by the National Guard is an attempt by the government to destroy the Puerto Rican labor movement." The group threatened to call a general strike starting tomorrow if the National Guard is not called back.

NEW YORK, July 9—Nearly 150 demonstrators protested here today against the calling out of the National Guard against striking public employees in Puerto Rico. The demonstration was held in front of the Migrant Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico's Department of Labor. Spirited chants in Spanish and English blamed the attacks on liberal governor Rafael Hernández Colón and expressed support for the strikers.

Called by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the demonstration included members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Communist Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, El Comité, Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, Center for Cuban Studies, and the Progressive Workers Party. Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, and Richard Ariza, SWP candidate for city council from Manhattan, were among the marchers.

In a press statement distributed to the demonstrators, Oliver said, "I urge that all unions in New York City condemn these attacks on the right of public employees to strike. I also urge that all other candidates for mayor denounce this attack on Puerto Rican workers."



Militant/John Lauritsen

July 9 picket line in New York City supports strikers in Puerto Rico. Sign reads: 'The workers will defeat the National Guard.'

Teamster goons forced to withdraw

Support for grape strike grows/3